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THE TRADITION OF GREEK ARITHMOLOGY

BY FRANK EGGLESTON ROBBINS

The problem attacked in the following pages is the determination of the sources and relationships of the ancient arithmological writings, including principally those of Varro, Philo, Nicomachus, Theon of Smyrna, Anatolius, the compiler of the *Theologumena Arithmeticae*, Chalcidius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Favonius Eulogius, and Johannes Laurentius Lydus. The difficulty of the problem, the necessity of hypothetical reasoning, and the ease with which error may be committed are acknowledged at the outset.

The situation presented by the above-mentioned writings much resembles that seen in the Synoptic Gospels, and methods similar to those used by New Testament critics should be employed in its elucidation. Whole passages of one author are repeated in one or more others, and the topics of arithmology are so frequently paralleled that to determine the exact provenance of any one may be well-nigh impossible. The problem therefore has to be handled in a large way and the main currents of influence determined, a thing which the previous essays in this field¹ have not satisfactorily done. They have, moreover, without exception followed Schmekel in regarding

¹ The following are most frequently referred to: A. Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Berlin, 1892; G. Borghorst, *De Anatolii fontibus*, Berlin, 1905; G. Altmann, *De Posidonio Timaei Platonis commentatore*, Berlin, 1906; B. W. Switalski, "Des Chalcidius Kommentar zu Platos Timaeus," *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Phil. d. Mittelalters*, III (Münster, 1902), 6; F. Skutsch, "Zu Favonius Eulogius und Chalcidius," *Philologus*, LXI (1902), 193 ff.; C. Fries, "De M. Varrone a Favonio expresso," *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., LXVIII (1903), 115 ff.

Posidonius as the universal source of arithmology—an error, as I have shown elsewhere.¹

The results won in the previous paper may serve as a starting-point for the present inquiry; namely, that Posidonius was not the author of the arithmology seen in Philo, Theon, and the rest, but quoted from an already existing arithmological work, the introduction of which Sextus Empiricus reproduces quite fully in *Adv. math.* iv. 2 ff., Anatolius and Theon in abridged form, and other parts of which were used by many authors. The existence of this work, at least, is proven, and if it be granted that Posidonius quoted it, it existed before his time, that is, by the last half of the second century B.C. For the reasons collected in the former article and for others that may appear later, the writer is ready to abandon the noncommittal attitude previously adopted and to believe that he actually did quote it, as Sextus Empiricus *Adv. math.* vii. 91 ff. shows. Since this document was so universal a source for later writers, it will for convenience be referred to as S ("source").

Anatolius² and Theon³ give the best idea of the character of S, preserving as they do its introduction and a considerable part of its ten chapters on the numbers of the first decade. Since any reader can see in a moment that they ultimately come from a common ancestor,⁴ this will be assumed without argument. These two writers, in fact, may be used as a sort of standard for judging whether others have drawn upon S. It may safely be believed that material common to both of them is from S; if we find the same matter in other writers, they also derived it from S. If certain other writers,

¹ "Posidonius and the Sources of Pythagorean Arithmology," *Classical Philology*, XV (1920), 309–22.

² Ed. J. L. Heiberg, *Annales internationales d'histoire, Congrès de Paris, 1900*, 5^e section, *Histoire des sciences*, Paris, 1901, pp. 27 ff. Anatolius is also extensively quoted in the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* (ed. Ast, 1817).

³ *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium*, ed. E. Hiller, Leipzig, 1878.

⁴ Except in one place, to be discussed below, these two are never at variance in making different statements about the same topic; one of them, however, usually Anatolius, may present topics which the other omits. Anatolius' treatise is apparently a set of notes for the use of students, hence a mere outline, devoid of literary elaboration. Theon's too is greatly condensed but somewhat more elaborate rhetorically; he is apt to say more about a given topic than Anatolius, while the latter preserves many more topics than Theon. Some of Anatolius' material, not found in Theon, is perhaps not from S; but this forms no great part of the whole.

of whom it is thus known that they used S as a source, parallel material in Anatolius not attested by Theon, this too may be claimed for S, and so, when reasonable presumptions have thus been created, the circle of the influence of S may be enlarged and defined.

I do not, however, intend to point out all the S material that can be identified in ancient literature, but will turn to the real point at issue, the method of transmission of S material.

Very little inquiry shows that Theon and Anatolius both present S in an abridged form. Philo, who in the *De mundi opificio* certainly used S, has in cc. 30-42 of that work a treatment of the number 7 which in general agrees throughout with Anatolius, the latter here as usual being more voluminous than Theon. Philo's account, however, is far longer even than Anatolius', containing many more topics and saying more about each one; yet probably every one of these topics, whether or not paralleled by Anatolius, is from S; the exceptions are certainly very few. This is proved by the fact that practically all of them are found, in connection with S material, in still other writers, Lydus¹ in particular showing a close likeness to Philo. But though Philo's chapters give us our best idea of the original text of S, still even they are abridged, for they omit several topics which must certainly be referred to the anonymous source because of their occurrence in several of the writers of our group.² Evidently some had only abridged versions of S, while others used full or but slightly abridged texts.

Among the descendants of S, Philo, as far as the *De mundi opificio* is concerned, Anatolius, and Lydus give evidence of forming a closely related group. Theon, as far as he goes, generally agrees with them, but he differs from them radically in the insertion in the seventh chapter of a block of material, set in a context showing the closest agreement with Anatolius, but differing wholly from the pronouncements of the three first mentioned upon the same subject, the control exercised by the number 7 over birth and the "ages of man." It will later be seen that by agreeing here with Theon rather than with Anatolius, Philo, and Lydus, a group including Chalcidius,

¹ *De mensibus* ii. 12.

² E.g., the 7 numbers used in Plato's *Timaeus*, and the flow of *euripi*, both to be found in Theon, Anatolius, and Lydus.

Capella, Favonius, and others show that they belong to the subfamily of which Theon is an example; but we must first examine certain peculiarities shared by Philo and Lydus which prove that they are more closely related to each other than to Anatolius.

Most important for this purpose is the following passage¹ dealing with the number 7:

Philo *De mundi opificio* c. 33:

τοσούτο δὲ ἐν ἑβδομάδι πέφυκεν εἶναι τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὥστε ἐξαίρετον ἔχειν λόγον παρὰ τοὺς ἐν δεκάδι πάντας ἀριθμούς· ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ μὲν γεννώσι οὐ γεννώμενοι, οἱ δὲ γεννῶνται μὲν, οὐ γεννῶσι δὲ, οἱ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ γεννῶσι καὶ γεννῶνται· μὴν δὲ ἑβδομάς ἐν οὐδενὶ μέρει θεωρεῖται. . . . δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἑξομοιοῦσι τῇ ἀμήτηρι νίκῃ καὶ παρθένῳ, ἣν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναφανῆναι λόγος ἔχει, οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων. τὸ γὰρ μῆτε γεννῶν μῆτε γεννώμενον ἀκίνητον μένει· ἐν κινήσει γὰρ ἡ γένεσις, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον οὐκ ἄνευ κινήσεως, τὸ μὲν

Lydus *De mensibus* ii. 12 (Wünsch):

οἱ γὰρ μὴν Πυθαγόρειοι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντός τὴν ἑβδόμην ἀνατίθενται, τουτέστι τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ μάρτυς Ὀρφεὺς λέγων οὕτως, 'Ἐβδόμη, ἣν ἐφίλησεν Ἄναξ ἐκ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων. . . . ὁρθῶς οὖν ἀμήτορα τὸν ἐπτά ἀριθμὸν ὁ Φιλόλαος προσηγόρευσε· μόνος γὰρ οὕτε γεννᾶν οὕτε γεννᾶσθαι πέφυκε· τὸ δὲ μῆτε γεννῶν μῆτε γεννώμενον ἀκίνητον· ἐν κινήσει γὰρ ἡ γένεσις, τὸ μὲν ἵνα γεννήσῃ, τὸ δὲ ἵνα γεννηθῇ, τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ Ταραντίνος. φησὶ δὲ οὕτως· 'Ἔστι γὰρ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἀρχὼν πάντων κτλ.

Philo *Leg. all.* i. 5:

κατὰ τινα λόγον οἱ ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθ-

Anatolius, p. 35, 6 ff.:

ἑβδομάς μόνη τῶν ἐντὸς δεκάδος οὐ γεννᾷ οὐδὲ γεννᾶται ὑπ' ἄλλου ἀριθμοῦ πλὴν ὑπὸ μονάδος· διὸ καὶ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων παρθένος ἀμήτωρ. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῶν ἐντὸς δεκάδος ὁ μὲν δ' ὑπὸ δυάδος γεννᾶται, γεννᾷ δὲ σὺν τῇ αὐτῇ τὸν ἡ', κτλ.

Theon, p. 103 (Hiller):

μόνος γὰρ τῶν ἐντὸς τῆς δεκάδος οὕτε γεννᾷ ἕτερον οὕτε γεννᾶται ὑφ' ἑτέρου· διὸ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καλεῖται, οὕτε μητρός τινας οὕσα οὕτε μήτηρ. οὕτε γὰρ γίνεταί ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ οὕτε συνδυάζεται τινι. τῶν γὰρ ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ δεκάδι οἱ μὲν γεννώσι τε καὶ γεννῶνται, ὡς ὁ δ' γεννᾷ μὲν μετὰ δυάδος τὸν ἡ', γεννᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ δυάδος, κτλ.

Chalcidius, c. 36 (p. 102, 6 ff., Wrobel):

. . . itaque omnibus partim nascentibus, partim parientibus, partim et nascentibus et parientibus, solus septenarius numerus neque ex duplicatione alterius nascitur

¹ Cf. also Hierocles *In carm. aur. ap. Mullach, FPG*, Vol. I, p. 465; schol. cod. Laur. in *Met.* 985 b 23; Alexander in *Met.* 985 b 26; Isidore, Capella, Favonius; *Theologumena Arithmeticae*, p. 44 Ast; Anon. *Prol. in introd. arith. Nicomachi ap. Tannery, Diophantus*, Vol. II, pp. 73 ff.

Philo:

ἵνα γεννήσῃ, τὸ δὲ
ἵνα γεννηται· μόνον
δὲ οὔτε κινεῖται οὔτε
κινούμενον ὁ πρεσβύ-
τερος ἀρχῶν καὶ
ἡγεμῶν, οὗ λέγεται
ἂν προσηκόντως εἰ-
κῶν ἑβδομάς. μαρ-
τυρεῖ δὲ μου τῷ
λόγῳ καὶ Φιλόλαος
ἐν τούτοις. Ἔστι
γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ ἡγε-
μῶν κτλ.

Lydus:

μοὶ γεννῶνται ἡ γε-
νῶσι τοὺς ἐντὸς
δεκάδος καὶ αὐτήν.
ἡ δὲ γε ἑβδομάς
οὔτε γεννᾷ τινα τῶν
ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθ-
μῶν οὔτε γεννᾶται
ὑπὸ τινος, παρ' ὃ
μυθεύοντες οἱ Πυθα-
γόρειοι τῇ ἀειπαρ-
θένῳ καὶ ἀμήτορι
αὐτὴν ἀπεικάζουσιν,
ὅτι οὔτε ἀπεκνήθη
οὔτε ἀποτίξεται.

Anatolius:

Theon:

nec infra decu-
manum limitem
parit quemquam.
proptereaque
Minerua est a
ueteribus cogno-
minatus, item ut
illa sine matre
perpetuoque
uirgo.

It is evident that, however differently they present it, Philo and Lydus drew from the same source, and that this contained matter not available for the others cited; indeed this ascription of 7 to the "leader of the universe" is unparalleled among the arithmologists. Let us, however, observe three points on which Philo and Lydus disagree: (1) Philo says the "other philosophers" identified 7 with Athena, Lydus does not mention the "others"; (2) Lydus quotes "Orpheus,"¹ Philo does not; (3) Lydus says that Philolaus called 7 "motherless," Philo does not, but ascribes the epithet, if to anyone, to the "others," who called 7 "motherless, virgin Victory."

Since the contexts of both of these passages in Philo and Lydus so closely resemble Theon, Anatolius, and others that their derivation from S is unquestionable, it is hard to deny that, in some form, the identification with the "leader" occurred in the version of S used by them both; I am not sure, however, that either reports accurately what was there. On the first point, for instance, all the other arithmologists of the S family agree that the *Pythagoreans* called 7 Athena, thus flatly contradicting Philo. In fact, not even Lydus supports Philo in his assertion; he stands alone. As to the second point, the quotation of "Orpheus" may or may not be an interpolation

¹ Doubtless the *ἕκτος εἰς ἀριθμὸν* ascribed to him; cf. Delatte, "Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne," *Bibl. de l'école des hautes études*, fasc. 217, Paris, 1915, pp. 208 ff.

of Lydus or his immediate authorities; it is of little significance.¹ In the third disagreement Lydus is probably at fault; the epithet "motherless" has been taken from its true context, the reference to Athena, and applied to the "leader." If an explanation may be conjectured, the source probably did contain the quotation of Philolaus, associating 7 with the "leader," and the identification with Athena as well, with reference to which, indeed, the whole argument that 7 does not generate and is not generated must have been framed. Philo, a Hebrew and a monotheist, has preferred to give undue prominence to Philolaus' dictum as the Pythagorean teaching, because it suits his religious philosophy; in Lydus the vicissitudes of transmission have probably brought about the confusion of his report. The identification with Athena, however, has survived in the majority of S documents because it was the central identification of this chapter in the original.

The essential fact gained is that Philo and Lydus depend on sources closely allied and fuller than those of Anatolius and the others, and this leads to another problem. When the arithmologists are examined side by side it is found that Lydus frequently has topics verbally identical with passages in good representatives of S imbedded in contexts which cannot be paralleled in these authors, but which sometimes can be paralleled in parts of the Philonic corpus outside of the *De mundi opificio*, notably the *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim et Exodum*.² The chief anomaly lies in the fact that in

¹ Quotations, especially of the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha, are characteristic of Lydus; he cites among others Philolaus, ὁ Χαλδαῖος, μυστικὸς λόγος, τὰ λόγια, Homer, Parmenides, Ocellus, Pythagoras, Archytas, Pherecydes, Proclus, and Hippocrates. Some of these were evidently not in S, but S had some such quotations, e.g., the instances above; Hippocrates and Solon (Anatolius, p. 37, Philo *De mundi opificio* cc. 35, 36; Censorinus *De die nat.* 14. 3-4; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. xvi. 144. 4 ff.); Philolaus and Archytas in Theon, p. 106. 7 ff. Since S must in the first place have been compiled from such sources, citations of them, preserved to varying degrees, must be expected among their descendants.

² In Lydus *De mensibus* portions of the following deal with arithmology: i. 11, 15, 17; ii. 4-12; iii. 4, 9, 10, 14; iv. 7, 22, 64, 76, 88, 97, 111, 122, 125, 162. In Philo, outside of *De mundi opificio*, are *Leg. all.* i. 2, 4, 5; *De plant. Noe* 18, 29, 32; *De migr. Abr.* 36; *Quis rer. div. heres* 35, 44; *De cong. erud. grat.* 17 ff.; *De mut. nom.* 1; *De sept.* 1, 2, 6, 18, 19, 21; *De vit. cont.* 8; *Quaest. et sol. in Gen.* i. 83, 91; ii. 5, 12, 14, 17, 32; iii. 38, 39, 49, 56, 61; iv. 8, 27, 71, 110, 151, 154, 164; *Quaest. et sol. in Exod.* i. 9; ii. 61, 78, 84, 87, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100; *De vit. Mos.* iii. 4, 5, 11; *De dec. orac.* 6, 7, 8, 21. Parallels with *Qu. in Gen.* iii. 38; ii. 12; iv. 110; iv. 8; iii. 61; and ii. 5 are given in

the *De mundi opificio* Philo's arithmology consistently agrees with known representatives of S, like Anatolius;¹ whereas in this series of passages he does not—at least not closely; at the same time they are so like Lydus that community of source is beyond question, and in Lydus the doubtful parts are knit closely into contexts undoubtedly influenced by S. Do these peculiar passages of Philo and Lydus, then, come from a second source common to both, or may they also be claimed for S? The following examples furnish some basis for argument:

Philo <i>De mundi opificio</i> 3: ἐξ δὲ ἡμέραις δημιουργηθῆναι φησι τὸν κόσμον οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσεδεῖτο τοῦ χρόνων μήκους ὁ ποιῶν . . . ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς γινομένους ἔδει τάξεως. τάξει δὲ ἀριθμὸς οἰκεῖον, ἀριθμῶν δὲ φύσις νόμοις γεννητικώτατος ὁ ἐξ. Philo, <i>Qu. in Gen.</i> iii. 38: quia . . . sex . . .	Lydus <i>De mensibus</i> ii. 11, p. 32, 4 ff. (Wünsch): ὁ γὰρ ἐξ ἀριθμὸς γεννητικώτατός ἐστιν	Anatolius, p. 34, 6 ff.:	Theon, p. 102, 4 ff.:	Capella vii. 736, pp. 260, 21–261, 2 (Eyssenhartd):
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this paper, and are the closest literal parallels to be found; there are other parallels in sense. In Lydus' great arithmological passage, ii. 4–12, the following lines (Wünsch's edition) are most obviously from S: pp. 23, 7–8, 22–24, 14; 25, 15–16; 28, 8–10; 30, 8–16; 31, 8–9, 12–13; 32, 4–14; 33, 8–10, 14–34, 3; 34, 9–36, 9. Elsewhere there is certainly S material in iii. 4, p. 38, 17–22; iv. 64, p. 115, 3–9, 14–17, and probably more, as only passages showing literal agreement with Philo and Anatolius are here listed. A notable parallel not cited below is between Lydus iv. 111, p. 150, 11 ff., and Philo *Qu. in Gen.* iii. 49 *tertio compositio octauis*, etc.

¹ On the monad Philo says little in *De mundi opificio* but his remark in c. 9 that the first day was called "one," not "first," should be compared with Lydus ii. 4, p. 21, 9–10. The account of 4 agrees closely with Anatolius (cf. also Theon, and Lydus iv. 64); the short statement about 5, c. 20, agrees with Lydus ii. 10, p. 31, 12 f.; on 6 see c. 3 below; cc. 30–42, on 7, agree throughout with Anatolius, Theon, and Lydus; on 10 cf. part of c. 15 with Anatolius and Lydus iii. 4. The other numbers are not treated.

Philo:	Lydus:	Anatolius:	Theon:	Capella:
<p>primus est perfectus numerus, par suis partibus,¹ et primus par impar, acceptans aliquid etiam de causa effectiva secundum redundantem atque ex materiali et affectiva secundum parem: quare et inter maiores antiquissimos nonnulli matrimonium, alii harmoniam illum dixere.²</p> <p><i>De mundi opificio</i> (continued):</p> <p>τῶν τε γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος πρῶτος τέλειός ἐστι, ἰσοῦμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι καὶ συμπληρούμενος³ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡμίσεως μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυνάδος, ἔκτου δὲ μονάδος. καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν ἄρρην τε καὶ θήλυς εἶναι πέφυκε</p>	<p>ὥς ἀρτισπέρितτος, μετ' ἔχων καὶ τῆς δραστηκῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τὸν περιττὸν καὶ τῆς ὀλικῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄρτιον·</p> <p>ὅθεν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι γάμον καὶ ἁρμονίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν.</p> <p>τῶν γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος μόνος τέλειός ἐστι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσι, συμπληρούμενος ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἡμίσεως μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυνάδος, ἔκτου δὲ μονάδος. καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπείν ἄρρην τε καὶ θήλυς εἶναι πέφυκεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ Ἀφροδίτη⁴ τὴν τοῦ ἄρρενος</p>	<p>ἐξὰς πρῶτος τέλειος ἀριθμὸς, τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῆς μέρεσιν ἀριθμεῖται, α' β' γ', ἃ ποιεῖ τὸν ζ'. ἅπαξ ζ' ζ'· δις γ' ζ'· τρίς β' ζ'·</p> <p>πρῶτος συγκεῖται ἐξ ἡμίσεως τρίτου ἔκτου· τετραγωνιζόμενος περιέχει αὐτὸν . . .</p>	<p>ὁ δὲ σ' τέλειος·</p> <p>(Cf. Censorinus <i>De die nat.</i> 11. 4: nec immerito senarius fundamentum gignendi est;⁵ nam eum teleion Graeci, intra se continet quod est unus, et tertiam quod duo, et medietatem quod tres. . . .)</p> <p>hic autem numerus</p>	<p>senarium uero perfectum analogicumque esse quis dubitet, cum suis partibus impleatur? nam et sextam sui intra se continet quod est unus, et tertiam quod duo, et medietatem quod tres. . . .</p>

¹ Cf. also Macrobius *Comm. in somn. Scip.* i. 6. 12-13; Favonius; Isidore; *Theol. Arith.*, p. 36, bottom; Philo *Leg. all.* i. 2.

² Philo *Qu. in Gen.* iii. 49: ". . . quod ueracissime quidam uocant harmoniam uel matrimonium."

³ Fries, *op. cit.*, regards it as important that both Capella and Favonius use forms of *-plere*. To judge from Philo, S originally had a double form (*ισοῦμενος* . . . καὶ συμπληρούμενος), the latter part being transmitted in the branch to which Capella and Favonius belong. Theon does not have it because he has only the second occurrence of this topic. Cf. also Lydus iv. 88, p. 136, 17 ff.

⁴ This shows that Censorinus' sources had *γεννητικώτατος* or something like it.

⁵ Nicomachus ap. Photius *cod.* 187 has this topic.

Philo:	Lydus:	Anatolius:	Theon:	Capella:
καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑκατέρας δυνάμεως ἡρμოსται· ἄρρεν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτιον θῆλυ. περιττῶν μὲν οὖν ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὴ τριάς, δύας δὲ ἀρτίων, ἡ δ' ἐκ' ἀμφοῖν δύναμις ἑξάς.	τὴν τε τοῦ θήλεος ἔχουσα φύσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς θεολόγοις ἀρρενόθηλος καλουμένη. καὶ ἄλλος φησὶν· ὁ ἐξ ἀριθμὸς ψυχογονι- κός ἐστιν, κτλ. (The rest bears no resemblance to the other authors quoted.)	ἐξ ἀρτίου καὶ περιττοῦ τῶν πρώτων ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος, δυνάμει καὶ πολλα- πλασιασμῷ γίνεται, διὸ καὶ ἀρρενόθηλος καὶ γάμος καὶ ἀρτιο- πέρισσος καλεῖται. κέκληται δὲ γάμος διότι αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν ἐστιν ἴσος, ὥς δέδεικται, καὶ γάμου ἔργον τὸ ὅμοια ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκγονα τοῖς γονεῦσι. (The re- mainder agrees closely with Theon.)	II et III, eundem ipsum perficiunt.) ἐπειδὴ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν ἐστιν ἴσος, ὥς δέδεικται, διὸ καὶ γάμον ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ γάμου ἔργον ποιεῖ ὅμοια τὰ ἐκγονα τοῖς γονεῦσι. (The remainder agrees closely with Ana- tolius.)	Ueneri est attribut- us quod ex utrius- que sexus commix- tione conficitur, id est, ex triade qui mas quod impar est numerus habet- ur, et dyade quae femina paritate; nam bis terni sex facit.

Here, the statement that 6 is *γεννητικώτατος*, in Philo and Lydus but not in the others,¹ is associated, in Philo directly with S material paralleled by Anatolius *et al.*, in Lydus with the same material, but after the intervention of a passage the agreement of which with *Quaest. in Gen.* iii. 38 could not be closer. In view of the occurrence of *γεννητικώτατος* in both Philo and Lydus, in an S context, and because of the difficulty of wrenching away what follows in Lydus, confirmed as it is by *Quaest. in Gen.* iii. 38 (itself somewhat resembling S material), the best judgment, I think, will decide that the whole passage of Lydus and *Quaest. in Gen.* iii. 38 both come from S, and

¹ Except, perhaps, Censorinus.

show again that Philo and Lydus possessed a particularly voluminous source.

Note also the evidences of special relationships. The parallel *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*—*ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν* in Philo and Lydus is most remarkable; that in the words *ὡς δέδεικται* used by both Anatolius and Theon equally so. In Anatolius they refer to the first occurrence of the topic at the beginning of the chapter; Theon, however, has omitted this mention of the topic and has given only its second occurrence, unnecessarily including *ὡς δέδεικται*, unless this is regarded as a reference to another part of his book.¹ To me, however, it seems to be another example of agreement between these two upon the merest matters of detail, comparable to the use by both of the words "as the diagram shows" in the fifth chapter.² However else they differ, such things show Theon and Anatolius to be extremely closely related.

The passage above may also be used to show that Philo is not the source of Lydus; the detail about Aphrodite, not in Philo, but in Lydus, is also seen in its proper connection in Capella, which testifies to its presence in the original source. Philo, as a Jew, would have none of it, and Lydus cannot have taken it from him. There is no reason to believe that Philo would have included it in his lost *Περὶ ἀριθμῶν*,³ and that this was Lydus' source.

The following series of passages shows a similar situation:

Lydus ii. 7:	Philo, <i>Quaest. in Gen.</i> ii. 12:	Anatolius, p. 30,	Theon, p. 100,
		23 ff.:	10 ff.:

. . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἀρτίου καὶ ὕλικου
ἀριθμοῦ· τὸ γὰρ
ἄρτιον μίσον δι-
ασπᾶται διαιρούμε-
νον τοῦ ἐνός· μόνος
δὲ ἀδιαίρετος ὁ
περιττός. ὁ μὲν
γὰρ ἄρρητον ἀριθμὸς
τετράγωνος, αὐτῇ
καὶ φῶς, ἐξ ἰσότητος
πλευρῶν συνεστῶς·

¹ It could refer to the incidental remark at p. 101, 7, or to p. 45, 11 ff.

² Theon, p. 101, 19, *ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ διάγραμμα* = Anatolius, p. 34, 4. Perhaps the most notable agreement is in the introduction to their arithmologies.

³ Cf. *Classical Philology*, XV, 320, n. 4.

Lydus:

ὁ δὲ θῆλυς ἑτερομήκης, νύκτα καὶ σκότον ἔχων διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητά· ὁ δὲ ἑτερομήκης τὴν μὲν ἐλάττονα πλευρὰν ἐλάττονα ἔχει ἐνί, τὴν δὲ μείζω περιτοτέραν ἐνί. ὥστε ὁ δύο ἀριθμὸς οὐ καθαρὸς, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κενὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ ναστός,¹ τὸ δὲ μὴ πλήρες οὐ καθαρὸν, ἀρχὴ δὲ ἀπειρίας καὶ ἀνισότητος· ἀπειρίας μὲν διὰ τὴν ὕλην, ἀνισότητος δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἑτερομήκεις· ὅθεν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὡς ὕλην καὶ ἑτερότητα τὴν δυάδα παραλαμβάνουσι. τόλμαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Φερεκίδην ἐκάλεσαν τὴν δυάδα, καὶ ὁρμὴν καὶ δόξαν καλοῦσιν, ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ ψευδὲς ἐν δόξῃ ἐστί. πανσόφης γὰρ ἡ ὕλη κτλ.

Philo:

numerus autem binus non mundus; primum quia vacuus est, non densus; quod autem non est plenum neque mundum est. praeterea quod est etiam initium infinitae immensitatis propter materiam. necnon inaequalitate laborat ob ceteros longos (numeros). nam qui a duobus induplicem augentur omnes alii longi sunt. atqui inaequale non est mundum, sicut neque materiale, sed quod ab illo est fallibile est et inemptum. . . .

Anatolius:

ἔχει τὸ ἀνάλογον καθ' ἣν ὕλη καὶ πᾶν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ παντὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν. . . . αἰσθητῶ. εἰκαζον αὐτὴν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἀνδρείῃ· προβέβηκε γὰρ ἡδὴ διὸ καὶ τόλμαν ἐκάλουν καὶ ὁρμὴν καὶ δόξαν δὲ ὠνόμαζον, ὅτι τάλῃθες καὶ ψεύδους ἐν δόξῃ. . . .

Theon:

In the beginning of the chapter on 2 Anatolius has several topics not represented by anything that Lydus says. The latter, then, if he is using material from S, begins at some point in the middle of the chapter. Now we have seen in a previous instance how Anatolius summarized in one or two words all that Philo and Lydus said about the topics ἀρτιοπéριττος and ἀρσενόθῆλυς, where

¹ Philo Qu. in Exod. ii. 100: ". . . ternio est condensus plenusque numerus, nullam habens uacuitatem, sed quicquid in dualitate discernptum erat adimplens." This passage is so similar in character that there need be no hesitation in pronouncing it based on something in S. Cf. Favonius' remark on 5, "constat hic ex pleno et non pleno, tribus uidelicet et duobus."

they were drawing upon a version of S fuller than his; it is a tempting conjecture that he has done the same with the topic $\epsilon\lambda\eta$ here, which Lydus and Philo have preserved more nearly in full; and again, the use by Lydus of unquestionable S material in the context, and the support of Philo, lend color to the assumption. Perhaps—but this is not so certain—Lydus represents S even in what follows the quotation given and Anatolius, supported by Theon, gives a rough summary. For the portions quoted, at any rate, we probably rightly assert that their source was S.

From the material quoted or cited above it is clear that Lydus utilized an S source of a form closely resembling that of Philo's, and more voluminous than the source of Anatolius and Theon, and finally, since we see that Philo and Lydus, when they agree in material not found in Theon and Anatolius, are often merely following their more comprehensive source, it becomes probable that even when the fact cannot be proved by Philonian parallels Lydus may sometimes be quoting S. For many passages, of course, this cannot be claimed, but for a considerable part of that section into which the bulk of his arithmology is collected, *De mensibus* ii. 4–12, the statement should hold. For there are, in the first place, close verbal agreements throughout this section with the best representatives of S, Philo, Theon, and Anatolius,¹ as well as others, only slightly less significant, with Philo outside the *De mundi opificio* and with the *Theologumena Arithmeticae*;² furthermore, it is hardly questionable that if S was the source of part of this section—as we know it was—its influence extended over the whole. Most important of all, in the one place where Lydus can be compared with a practically unabridged S text, that is, in the discussion of 7, where Philo can be used,³ it is seen that Lydus employed very little other than S material.⁴ In

¹ These are cited above, p. 102, n. 2.

² E.g., cf. Lydus, p. 23, 7 ff., with Philo *Qu. in Gen.* iv. 110, and with both cf. the statements of Capella and Favonius about the monad; p. 25, 12 ff., with Philo *ibid.* iv. 8 and *Theol. Arith.*, p. 16; p. 28, 8 ff., with Philo *loc. cit.* and *Theol. Arith.*, p. 8; p. 26, 13 ff., with *Theol. Arith.*, p. 15; p. 26, 18 ff., with *Theol. Arith.*, p. 16; p. 27, 1 ff., with *Theol. Arith.*, p. 13; p. 31, 8, with Anatolius and Favonius on the pentad, Macrobius i. 6, 18, Capella vii. 735, [Plut.] *Epit.* iii. 14. 1, Philo *De mundi opif.* 20.

³ *De mensibus* ii. 12 and *De mundi opif.* 30–42.

⁴ Generally there is close correspondence throughout these passages, but Lydus does not preserve as many topics as does Philo, nor at such length. In some places, however, by giving something lost by the others, even Philo, but yet undoubtedly from S, he gives further proof that his source was most comprehensive. Cf. Lydus, p. 35, 2 ff., with Philo *De mundi opif.* 41 and Anatolius, p. 36, 15; Lydus, p. 36, 5 ff., with Anatolius, p. 36, 24.

addition to the many parallels which can only be referred to here, it can be shown that very probably the arithmological block, ii. 4-12, preserves one characteristic feature of arrangement from the original S. The argument is based on comparing such expressions as ἡ κατ' αἰσθησιν τριάς, ἡ νοητὴ τριάς in pages 25, 12 ff., 27, 1 ff., and 17 ff. and others similar in pages 29, 7-8, and 30, 7-9, with certain phrases of Philo.

In Philo's long discussion of 7¹ the narrative falls roughly into this scheme:

I. Introductory—to describe the hebdomad properly is impossible.

II. The two hebdomads, "inside" and "outside" the decade. The latter described.

III. Transition to the hebdomad "within" the decade, and its powers ἐν νοητοῖς (cf. c. 34); followed by a group of topics.

IV. Transition again, and the powers of 7 ἐν αἰσθητοῖς, with topics.

V. Transition, "though it shows so many forms in both bodiless and conceptual things, the nature of 7 extends also over all visible creation. For what is not φιλέβδομον?" Topics follow.

VI. Etymology—ἐπτὰ, σεβασμός, septem.

Thus groups of topics are made and the transitions supply the headings. In most cases the topics themselves are all that can be paralleled in other writers, but in a few instances the transitions themselves are paralleled; for example, the fifth heading indicated above:

Philo *De mundi opificio* 38

τοσαύτας ἰδίας καὶ ἐτι πλείονας ἡ ἑβδομάς ἐν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἐπιδείκνυται. διατείνει δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁρατὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν, τὰ πέρατα τοῦ παντὸς φθάσασα. τί γὰρ οὐ φιλέβδομον; . . . αὐτίκα τὸν οὐρανὸν φασιν ἐπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις, κτλ.

Lydus ii. 12, p. 34, 16 (Wünsch)

διατείνει δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁρατὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν· αὐτίκα γοῦν οὐρανὸν φασιν ἐπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις, κτλ.

Anatolius, p. 36, 25

πάντα φιλέβδομα.

Philo *Leg. all.* i. 4

χαίρει δὲ ἡ φύσις ἑβδομάδι· πλάνητές τε γὰρ ἐπτὰ γεγόνασιν, κτλ.

This shows that at least one Philonic transition was in Lydus' source, and the use of the coined word φιλέβδομος is strong evidence

¹ *De mundi opif.* cc. 30-42.

of the same thing for the family of Anatolius. Lydus uses phrases, cited above, that appear to be of the same character, and even in the other writers¹ here and there may be found what seem to be introductions or transitions surviving from their literary ancestors. A scheme of grouping topics under heads seems clearly enough to have characterized S, though what the groups were, and whether they were always the same, is not clear. Traces of such a scheme in Lydus form additional evidence of the great influence of S upon his arithmology.

Outside of Lydus' great arithmological block there are two sections, iii. 4 and iv. 64, which certainly contain material from S. With the first should be compared the nearly identical passages in Anatolius (p. 39, 5 ff.) and Philo (*De mundi opificio* 15);² to the second I have referred elsewhere.³ The source of the rest of his arithmology, scattered here and there,⁴ is harder to determine; it cannot be argued with such probability that the same sources were used for all or that S played such a large part. In one case Lydus probably used the lost *Theologumena Arithmeticae* of Nicomachus,⁵ perhaps in others as well; twice Philo is a possible source. One of the latter passages, iii. 14, connects the number 30 with the length of a generation, and is directly paralleled by Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 5; but this is a topic probably used in S, for Censorinus *De die natali* 17, 2 has it and in the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* it appears in the discussion of the control of human life by the number 7; 30 might also appear as an analogue of 3. Hence in this case both Philo and Lydus could have derived the topic from their common source. But though the other of the two passages, *De mensibus*

¹ E.g., Chalcidius c. 37 *ad init.* (quoted below); Capella vii. 733, p. 265, 5: "quid quod omnium natura nonne huic probatur numero (sc. 7) deseruire?" (Cf. with this the passages quoted above.)

² The citations are undoubtedly based on the tenth chapter of the original S, but the topic is closely paralleled in the introduction as well; cf. Anatolius, p. 29, 6-8; Theon, p. 99, 17-20; Sextus Empiricus *Adv. math.* iv. 2 ff. It is found also in Chalcidius c. 35; Hierocles *In carm. aur. ap.* Mullach, *FPG*, Vol. I, p. 464; Capella vii. 742; Isidore *Liber numerorum*, Migne, *PL*, Vol. LXXXIII, 190BC; [Plut.] *Epit.* i. 3, 8; Stobaeus *Ecl.* i. 10, 12.

³ *Classical Philology*, XV, 315, n. 2, for Lydus, p. 115, 14-17; for Lydus, p. 115, 4-9, cf. Theon and Anatolius on the triad.

⁴ The passages concerned are enumerated in p. 102, n. 2.

⁵ *De mensibus* iv. 162; this passage mentions Nicomachus by name but is not at all like *Theol. Arith.*, p. 55 Ast; hence the reference is without doubt to the lost work of Nicomachus.

iii. 10, which is practically identical with *Quaest. in Gen.* iii. 61, might conceivably occur in the discussion of 2 or 3, 4 or 9, of an S document, it obviously refers to Lev. 23:18-19, and was doubtless from the first most at home in an Old Testament commentary. Since there is otherwise no proof that Lydus and Philo shared any common source except S, we may, I think, admit that in this, and perhaps even in other isolated instances, Lydus drew from Philo himself, without prejudicing the general conclusion that elsewhere, certainly in *De mensibus* ii. 4-12, he did not use Philo directly but a document similar to Philo's authority.

One other important detail with regard to Lydus is that he quotes Proclus in his arithmology;¹ this, together with the signs of confusion and disjointedness in his book, indicates that his S material comes to him through other hands and was not his own compilation, and furthermore that one of his authorities, perhaps his immediate source, wrote after the time of Proclus. But the version of S involved in Lydus' ancestry was a full one, at least as far as *De mensibus* ii. 4-12 is concerned, though some of the scattered arithmological passages may be derived from an abridgment of the style of Anatolius.²

The discussion of Lydus helps in elucidating the problems raised by Philo. There can be no doubt that all the arithmology in the *De mundi opificio* comes from S, and now, through Lydus, we see that those passages elsewhere which do not resemble Theon and Anatolius, but are paralleled in Lydus, come probably from an unabridged S. The passages of Philo's Old Testament commentaries which contain arithmology are listed above, but in the interests of space I shall not examine them all, but make only a few general observations about them.

The chief reason why these Philonic passages look unlike the ordinary S type of arithmology is because they are concerned with the higher numbers which figure in Scripture narratives—the dimensions of the ark, for instance. Per se, such numbers probably were not discussed in S, but their arithmological interpretation usually involves the lower numbers as well, and here Philo might, and in fact seems to, use S.

¹ *De mensibus* ii. 6, p. 23, 11; ii. 8, p. 27, 19. Proclus' dates were 410-85 A.D.

² E.g., in iv. 64, p. 115, 4-9 and 14-17.

Again, Philo's method of writing in these commentaries is very different from what is seen in the *De mundi opificio*. Take as an example the discussion of 8 in *Quaest. in Gen.* iii. 49; the qualities of 8 are enumerated, one after another, with *primo, secundo*, and so on. The arrangement, certainly, is quite foreign to the S tradition, but in the details some agreement may be found both in this case and in others.

In dealing with the higher numbers, too, Philo probably supplied much of the material himself, but employing recognized Pythagorean devices, such as the summations of numbers, triangular and other polygonal numbers, and the like. One might almost say that he himself expanded S to fit his special needs, using its own material and its own methods. In general, however, we are justified in concluding that among other sources Philo used a very comprehensive version of S, which he sometimes quoted literally and sometimes recast in his own way.

Up to this point we have been concerned primarily with Philo, Lydus, and Anatolius, who represent what is probably the older strain of the S family. Now we turn to Theon and the others.

There is but one divergence of primary importance to be noted in the comparison of Theon and Anatolius; the rest may be accounted for on the ground that either Theon or Anatolius has omitted something, originally in S, which the other happens to preserve, and such variants have but little significance for the history of the transmission. But in the chapter on 7, at page 103, 18 ff., after several sentences agreeing fully with Anatolius, Theon suddenly interjects a passage beginning with a quotation from Posidonius. This section commences with the statement that the lunar month is made up of four hebdomads, continues with various topics showing the control exercised by 7 over childbirth and the ages of man, and extends nearly, or quite, to the end of the chapter. The portion dealing with childbirth and the ages is wholly unlike anything in Philo or Anatolius—Lydus neglects the subject entirely—for they say only that seven months' children are viable, and on the ages of man simply quote the elegy of Solon and a passage of Hippocrates. On the other hand, a whole series of arithmologists, Chalcidius, Varro, Capella, Favonius, Macrobius, and the *Theologumena*, agree with

Theon in putting at this point something much like his account. In other words, this is a test passage upon which the S family as a whole divides into two camps.

Now since Theon otherwise agrees with Anatolius very closely, sometimes in the minutest detail, I can see no escape from the conclusion that here there has been some interpolation into, or modification of, the original S, and it is perfectly clear that Theon, and not Anatolius, has admitted the interpolation. For it is Theon who mentions Posidonius' name; Posidonius is later than the compiler of S; hence the original S could not have mentioned him, and liberty has been taken with the original text in that line of arithmologies which does.

This quotation, furthermore, adds further proof to the contention of the writer's previous essay. If Theon (or his authority) quotes Posidonius, it is implied that the material contained in this citation was not in the original document used as a general source; consequently Posidonius was not the author of that document. Nor is Theon's arithmology Posidonian, save in so far as Posidonius is interpolated into it.

The quotation of Posidonius, in Theon, extends probably at least over page 103, lines 18-23, and whether or not it goes farther, the characteristic unlikeness to Anatolius persists practically to the chapter's end.¹ The part dealing with birth and the ages (p. 103, ll. 1-9) is wholly unlike; at 104, 15-16 comes a list of seven vital organs headed, in Theon, by *γλῶσσα*, in Anatolius and Philo by *στόμαχος*; and in page 104, lines 16-18, Theon says upon the authority of Herophilos that the length of the intestine is twenty-eight cubits, while Anatolius gives it as twenty-one on the same authority. The writers mentioned above as siding with Theon against Philo and Anatolius agree with Theon also regarding the names of the vital organs. There is, however, a general agreement between the two groups, save on the matter of birth and the ages; they use the same topics and much the same wording. This must be due to the fact that S is ultimately back of each strain, but the peculiar features

¹ Verbal likeness between the two, which ceases at pp. 103, 18-104, 12, begins again at p. 104, 12, but though their language from here to the end of the chapter is similar the two curious discrepancies in detail noted above occur in this portion.

found in Theon and the others must have been derived from something outside of the family from which Philo and Anatolius descend.

If we compare the passages¹ in which the various arithmologists enumerate the "ages of man," one group, consisting of Philo, Anatolius, and Clement of Alexandria, are seen to be characterized by the quotation of Solon and Hippocrates; the rest, omitting this, make the statement, not found in the first group, that the teeth appear at the seventh month. It is probable that the Solonian and Hippocratic passages are the basis upon which are founded all the accounts of the second group, which, it may be remarked, have many things in common. Among them, the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* and Macrobius are practically identical;² they go into the greatest detail, and because the tendency in arithmological transmission is in general to abbreviate rather than amplify, what they say is doubtless closest to the original source. All the rest seem to have concise statements derived from the longer form preserved by these two.

Now this longer version, in connection with the seventh and fourteenth years,³ makes prominent the fact that the *προφορικὸς λόγος* then develops, and from this we must deduce that a Stoic had something to do with the formulation of the original of this account, for this is a distinctively Stoic doctrine.⁴ Again, Chalcidius, Capella, and Favonius agree exactly upon the details of the "ages," and state that at twenty-one years the beard grows and that increase in height comes at twenty-eight; Theon, however, who otherwise agrees with them, says that the beard and increase in height come at twenty-one and increase in breadth at twenty-eight, herein agreeing exactly with Macrobius and substantially with the *Theologumena*, which fails to mention the beard. Deviation under such circumstances cannot be mere chance.

¹ Philo *De mundi opif.* 35-36; Anatolius, p. 36, 25 ff.; *Theol. Arith.*, pp. 48-50; Macrobi. i. 6. 67 ff.; Theon, p. 104, 5 ff.; Chalcidius c. 37; Capella vii. 739; Favonius; Varro ap. Gellius iii. 10; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. xvi. 144. 4 f.

² Macrobius has preserved more of the original of both; cf. p. 116, nn. 2 and 3.

³ Their statements are similar, but there is a slight disagreement in arrangement.

⁴ There is no reason why S may not from the first have contained Stoic doctrines, irrespective of special Stoic influences or interpolations later, as the S material was in the course of transmission. The neo-Pythagoreans were eclectics. This, however, is a particularly striking case and the surrounding circumstances unusual.

If now we put together all the evidence—Posidonius knew and used S; some Stoic has modified S by inserting the account of the ages seen in Macrobius and the *Theologumena*, and more briefly in the rest of the group; Theon, immediately after citing Posidonius' name, significantly parallels Macrobius and the *Theologumena* against Chalcidius, Favonius, and Capella—the probability becomes high that Posidonius himself is the original source of the account of the ages seen in Macrobius and the *Theologumena*, and in fact of the whole block of material wherein the Theonian and Philonic groups differ, and which we know came by interpolation into the S family.

Furthermore, Theon and Chalcidius cannot have taken their respective accounts from the same authority; and therefore if Chalcidius, as is generally believed, here follows Adrastus, Theon, certainly here and probably in the whole of his arithmological passage, cannot be following Adrastus.¹ His source, rather, seems to have drawn directly upon Posidonius, because it agrees so closely with the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* and Macrobius.

On the other hand, if, as seems probable, all of this group alike depend ultimately upon Posidonius in this passage, it must be taken as a sign that all had as a common ancestor an S document thus modified from Posidonius' *Commentary on the Timaeus*, for surely such similar deviations from the Philonic norm cannot have been made independently; and Adrastus and the undetermined source of Theon must be included in this related group. It is far more likely that the common ancestor was an S document with such

¹ At present no other conclusion seems possible; yet as the writer pointed out in *Classical Philology*, XV, 318 (with n. 2) Chalcidius and Theon are closely related. The explanation must be that the source of Theon used a source practically the same as that of Adrastus. Note, however, that the important agreement with regard to the harmonic ratios mentioned in *Class. Phil.*, XV, 318, lies between Chalcidius and Theon, p. 58, 13 ff., a passage not in Theon's formal arithmology, but referred to Adrastus by Altmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff. (though not by Schmekel and Borghorst). Altmann alone thinks Theon's source, in p. 99, 8 ff., Adrastus; Schmekel, *op. cit.*, p. 409, n. 3, names Thrasyllus, and Borghorst Moderatus; Hiller, *Rhein. Mus.*, XXVI, 584, n. 1, says it cannot be Adrastus. The evidence above makes for the prevailing view, but the question cannot yet be called settled. The analysis of Theon's text to show the different sources involves extremely nice judgments and too much that is subjective; hence the results cannot be fully satisfactory. E. Hiller in *Rhein. Mus.*, XXVI, 582 ff., is chiefly responsible for the belief that Chalcidius follows Adrastus, but Chalcidius' text has not been studied as carefully as Theon's. It is not impossible that Theon follows Adrastus, while Chalcidius, in his arithmology, has some other authority.

modification than an S arithmology incorporated by Posidonius in his commentary, both because all the modifications seem to have been made in one place, in the seventh chapter, and because Posidonius apparently made a different use of the introduction to S from what is seen in Theon.¹ This may indicate that his arithmology was not formally arranged as such, or was even incomplete. Though it is by no means certain, even Macrobius and the *Theologumena* are perhaps to be traced to an S document of this type rather than to Posidonius himself.

The *Theologumena Arithmeticae*, generally ascribed to Iamblichus, deserves more study than can be given here. It is without doubt in very large part Nicomachean, based on the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* of Nicomachus. Its connection with S is obvious, for dozens of the topics of the S tradition appear in its pages; probably Nicomachus himself used S. The theory also has been advanced that Posidonius influenced it; but it would be hard to say whether all the S topics employed came to Nicomachus through Posidonius or not.

It would be rash also to pass final judgment on Macrobius without extended study. It seems probable, however, that Macrobius made use, probably indirectly, of the lost *Theologumena Arithmeticae* of Nicomachus, and through this is influenced by Posidonius and S. This statement is prompted by the fact that in a number of passages, one a very long one, Macrobius agrees very closely with the *Theologumena* as printed by Ast,² but sometimes offers a fuller version than the latter,³ which seems to point to a use of Nicomachus, the chief source of Iamblichus. It has been argued that Macrobius had a neo-Platonic source; if so, this without doubt was influenced by Nicomachus.⁴

¹ See Sextus Empiricus *Adv. math.* vii. 91 ff., and *Class. Phil.*, XV, 310, 321.

² Cf. Macrobius i. 6. 11 with *Theol. Arith.*, p. 53; *ibid.*, 14-18 with pp. 47-48; 24-40 (especially secs. 33, 36, 39) with p. 50; 45 with p. 43; 44 with p. 44; 61-80 with pp. 45 ff.; the last is the strongest instance.

³ E.g., sections 68, 74, 78 and others in Macrobius contain matter not in *Theol. Arith.* but very closely knit into the common account and obviously from the common source.

⁴ So Borghorst, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 f.; Altmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff., especially pp. 69-70. The latter thinks the neo-Platonic source of Macrobius, as well as Nicomachus, Theon, and Chalcidius, used Adrastus. But this promiscuous grouping does not permit an explanation of the extreme closeness of Theon to Anatolius, Philo, and Lydus, whom he believes to depend upon Posidonius—an impossibility, as has been argued in this paper.

Varro, too, apparently drew some material from the S tradition, and is an important figure in it because he has long been regarded as the chief source of Capella, Favonius, and Macrobius; in fact, the position ascribed to him is second only to that of Posidonius.

The two books of Varro known positively to have contained arithmology are the *Tubero* or *De origine humana*, quoted by Censorinus *De die natali*, 9 ff.,¹ and the first of the fifteen books of *Imagines*, or *Hebdomades*, cited by Aulus Gellius iii. 10. The former dealt with numbers only in so far as they govern birth, and the latter devoted itself to the number 7 alone. Our positive knowledge, therefore, does not permit it to be stated that Varro wrote a complete arithmology, or that a complete arithmology could have been based on anything that he wrote.

A noteworthy characteristic of Varro's arithmology is its independence. While others usually reproduced the traditional topics, he seems to have drawn other pertinent material from the great number of Greek and Latin authors that he had read, and to have added much on his own account.²

In the *Tubero* Varro can have taken only details from the S tradition; his main account of the control of childbirth by the number 7 differs radically from what is found in the *Theologumena* or in any other of the authors we have considered,³ and he has an

¹ Of the passage cited cc. 9. 1—14, 2 are obviously drawn from Varro mainly, but it may be doubted whether cc. 14. 3 ff. are; for 14. 2 gives Varro's doctrine of the ages of man, and in the following sections are presented the opinions of others, in a similar fashion and with no mark of being taken through Varro. As Hippocrates and Solon are among those cited, without much doubt an S document of the type of Philo and Anatolius was consulted—the only place where the two would be likely to be found together. If this came through Varro, he himself must have used S in its Philonic-Anatolian form.

² E.g., ap. Gellius *loc. cit.* he speaks of the seven "halcyon days," of the limit of human height as 7 ft., and adds a detail about the number of teeth that appear in infants. These are not elsewhere paralleled, nor is his account of childbirth exactly like any other.

³ Censorinus c. 11. Using the Pythagorean "plinthion in double ratio" 6, 8, 9, 12 (cf. Philo *De mundi opif.* c. 37, *Qu. in Gen.* i. 91, iii. 38, iv. 27; *Theol. Arith.*, p. 39), Varro says that in the first 6 days a *humor lacteus* is formed, in the next 8 a *humor sanguineus*, in the next 9 flesh, and in the next 12 the formation of the fetus is completed; the period of formation is 35 days, and the whole gestation period 6×35, or 210 days for seven months' children. Something similar is found in Augustine *De div. quaest.* lxxiii, quaest. lvi; but Augustine uses stages of 6, 9, 12, and 18 days, 45 in all, for the formation of nine months' children doubtless (the "plinthion in the triple

apparently original account of the ages.¹ In the *Hebdomades* far more that is derived from S can be traced, with the admixture, however, of certain topics probably original with him. The fact that he mentions the growth of the teeth at seven months, and that his account of the numerical control of gestation bears some resemblance to what Theon says, suggest that he may have taken his material by way of Posidonius.²

To the writer's mind the arguments which have been made to show that Varro was the source of Capella, Favonius, and even of Macrobius, lack force. Since these writers, in arithmology, were all members of the S family, the same topics naturally occur in all of them, and to point out a simple parallel is of small significance, for it might be derived almost anywhere. To prove that a given writer followed Varro and no other, one must show parallels to some of the distinctive things in Varro; yet, though Varro was one of the most independent of arithmologists and made many statements wholly unlike those of Philo, Theon, Anatolius, and the rest, in no case has a parallel between his peculiar topics and Capella, Favonius, or Macrobius been pointed out.

Eyssenhardt's contention³ that Varro was Capella's source is regarded by Fries as successfully maintained and is used by the latter as the basis of his declaration that Varro was the source of Favonius. Eyssenhardt begins with the comparison of Capella's statements about the monad and a citation of Varro about God

ratio"), regarding which Varro does not, as one would expect, give a similar account. In the *Theol. Arith.*, p. 39, 6×35 and 6×45 are stated to be the gestation periods; the two plinthia are mentioned but not these stages of fetal development, and *ibid.*, pp. 46-47, the stages are reckoned by weeks. In fact, none of the arithmologists parallels this Varronian account, not even Varro himself *ap. Gellius* iii. 10.

¹ Censorinus c. 14, 2.

² Varro states that the seed coagulates the first week; the head and spine of males is formed in the fifth; formation is completed in the seventh, and birth takes place usually after 273 days. Theon, p. 104, 2 ff., says that the formation is completed in seven weeks according to Empedocles; some say males are formed in five. In the *Theol. Arith.*, p. 47 ff., five weeks are given as the period of formation for a seven months' child, for the nine months' children six for females and seven for males; the 273 days' period is not paralleled. Varro's account possibly has the same origin as these others, but in any case he has considerably modified it.

³ In his edition of Capella, Leipzig, 1866, pp. liii ff., Borghorst, *op. cit.*, p. 45, accepts the view, and also thinks Favonius based upon Varro.

containing no reference whatever to numbers, a decidedly fantastic parallel. He then cites their accounts of childbirth, but can show only that they both have the portions common to nearly all arithmologists, none of the peculiarly Varronian traits; the same, too, can be said of the only other citations he makes, regarding 7 and the moon. The argument really shows only that Capella belongs to the S family, and is far from proving him Varronian.

Fries's view about Favonius is open to precisely the same objections. The parallels which he claims are parallels with half a dozen others besides Varro, and there is nothing distinctively Varronian about them; furthermore, to prove Favonius Varronian through parallels with Capella is simply to pyramid hypotheses, and is based on false theory if it cannot be established that Capella drew on Varro. Favonius does, to be sure, once cite Varro by name in a passage in which 27, the cube of 3, is connected with the length of the moon's course; but neither is it sure that this is a direct citation of Varro, nor is it necessarily derived from any Varronian arithmology, for in the only Varronian arithmological text which we have Varro adheres to the usual view of the writers of this school and says that the moon's course is finished in 28 (4×7) days.¹ Incidentally, Fries errs in saying that Macrobius i. 6. 53 agrees *fere simillimis verbis* with Favonius; for in the passage cited Macrobius mentions only the 28-day month of the moon. The only other passage which can possibly be connected with Varro is that in which Favonius translates *κύβος quadrantal*, a Varronian word,² as Fries says, relying on Gellius i. 20. But Gellius in this passage does not directly quote this word from Varro; he cites him once, to be sure, but the whole passage is not necessarily derived from him.

If, then, special Varronian influence upon Capella and Favonius cannot be shown, what is the probable line of their descent? It is at least clear that both belong to the S family, and Capella, though his style is unique, is closer to the other members of the group than

¹ I.e., *ap.* Gellius iii. 10.

² Cf. Cassiodorus *Exp. in. Psalt.*, Migne, *PL*, Vol. LXX, p. 79B: "iste autem numerus (sc. 8) est quem arithmetici actu primum quadrantal appellant, quem Philolaus Pythagoricus harmoniam geometricam uocat." The citation of Philolaus is found in Nicomachus *Introd. arith.* ii. 26. 2 (but not in Boethius *Inst. arith.* ii. 49). The word *quadrantal* here hardly indicates Varronian influence.

Favonius in that he presents more of the usual topics. In one significant passage, vii. 739, in which the ages, vital organs, sensory openings, and parts of the body are dealt with, Capella parallels Chalcidius, c. 37, very closely.¹ But though many words and phrases are identical, Capella cannot have copied from Chalcidius, for he must have taken his account of the parts of the body, for example, from the same source as the rest of the passage, and this is wholly omitted by Chalcidius. The possibility remains, however, that Adrastus, the supposed authority of Chalcidius, can have either directly or indirectly influenced Capella here; if so, there must have been a Latin translation of Adrastus in the ancestry of both Chalcidius and Capella, for their agreements are in the Latin terms. In the rest of his arithmology there is no especial likeness between Chalcidius and Capella, beyond the use of topics employed by many others, and parallels of this sort, as has already been remarked, are useless in the present investigation.

Both Capella and Favonius, however, have a rather unusual treatment of the monad. They make the distinction between *numerus* and the *numerabile*, and hence between unity and one.² In Chalcidius and Macrobius this notion does not occur, and the monad is identified with the immutable, timeless God, or his mind, containing the forms of all numbers and things, whence also these emanate. This is also the conception of Nicomachus.³ It is neo-Platonic, obviously; the former Aristotelian, particularly as Capella gives it. The former conception, too, underlies two passages in which Philo and Lydus show a surprising verbal identity—*Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 110 and *De mensibus*, page 23, 7 ff.—and may be traced

¹ E.g., Capella: "item secunda hebdomas pubertatem mouet gignendique possibilitatem, tertia florem genarum, quarta incrementa staturae finiuntur, quinta iuuenilis aetatis plena perfectio est," etc. Chalcidius: "idem quoque secunda hebdomade pubertatem adfert utrique sexui gignendique et pariendi maturitatem, tertia uero hebdomade ostentat se flos et lanugo circa genas. quarta uero hebdomade definiuntur incrementa staturae. quinta plenam iuuenilis aetatis adfert perfectionem."

² Capella vii. 731: "... sacra monas ... quae si species est accidens cuilibet exstantium primo, priusque est quod numerat quam illud numerandum, rite eam ... ueneramur." Favonius makes the distinction between *unum* and *unum solum*; e.g., "nullumque corpus unum solum corpus. unum solum recte dicitur quod in partes sui diuisione non discedat. ... illud igitur numerus, hoc quod numerabile est recte dicitur."

³ Chalcidius cc. 38-39; Macrobius i. 6. 7 ff.; Nicomachus *ap. Theol. Arith.*, p. 4.

in certain passages of Theon (pp. 19, 18 ff., 20, 12 ff.), not in his formal arithmology, perhaps derived from the Pythagorean Moderatus. Besides, the version of Capella and Favonius bears enough resemblance to the account of the monad in S, represented by Anatolius, to be regarded as a derivative of the original S in which more has been preserved than in most others of its descendants. The identification of the monad with God, or Zeus, was in S, as Anatolius shows, and also in Capella and Favonius, without the neo-Platonic dressing given the topic by Macrobius and Chalcidius; it may also be noted that Anatolius, page 29, 12, calls it *γονή, ὅλη οὐσα τῶν ἀριθμῶν*, which matches Capella's *omniumque numerorum solam seminarium esse*, and that in all three occurs the notion expressed by Favonius *pereuntibus aliis quae id recipere possunt immutabile perseverat*. In this passage Chalcidius cannot be following Adrastus, for the latter, as a Peripatetic, would be likely to state the theme about as Capella has done; in fact, the Aristotelian form adopted here by Capella is quite as much an argument for Adrasteian influence as the likeness with Chalcidius noted above.

A further characteristic of Capella is to identify each number with some divinity, just as Nicomachus is known to have done, judging from Photius, cod. 187, and the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* of Iamblichus. Perhaps Capella owes this trait to Nicomachus, for some of the instances are quite remarkable; for example, his identification of the triad with the Fates, Graces, and *quaedam uirgo, quam dicunt caeloque ereboque potentem* is matched, as far as the Fates are concerned, by *Theol. Arith.*, page 16, and *Ἐκάτη* is one of the epithets applied by Nicomachus according to Photius. But these agreements, after all, may be due only to the influence of S, for we have seen above that Capella's identification of 6 with Aphrodite, which might otherwise be regarded as Nicomachean, is proved by the agreement of Lydus to have been part of S. Though Capella himself or his Latin sources have modified them somewhat, more of these identifications may have been in the original S than are generally preserved outside of Capella's own line.

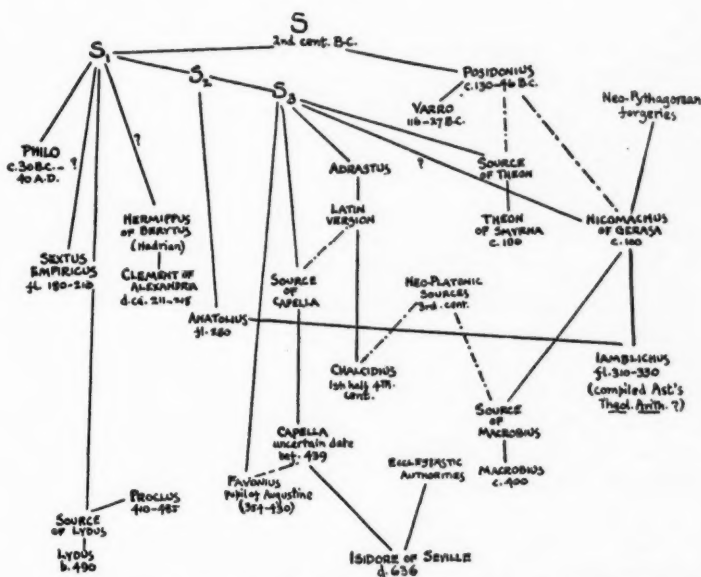
Capella, then, seems to be descended from an S document of the Theonian group, more voluminous than Theon, and probably influenced by a Latin translation of Adrastus. It cannot be positively

shown that Adrastean influence affected more than the parts mentioned above, and furthermore it is impossible, from Chalcidius, to tell whether Adrastus' commentary on the *Timaeus* contained a whole arithmology, such as the source of Capella must have been; I am inclined, therefore, to explain the situation by Adrastean influence rather than actual copying of Adrastus.

Favonius, too, has the marks of the Theonian branch of the family, but to judge from his account of the birth and ages of man, which is unlike Capella and Chalcidius in phrasing but adds some details to which the name of Hippocrates is affixed, he did not come under Adrastean influence, though his original authority must have been fairly comprehensive. In spite of this some of his chapters are decidedly thin, and seem to have been padded with arithmetical detail, as in the fourth and sixth, or astronomical matter, as in the fourth, fifth, and eighth, foreign to the original S. It is probable, too, that in some details he was influenced by Capella, but further about his sources can hardly be ventured here.

I do not intend at this time to add anything about the slighter arithmological sources, such as Plutarch, Vindicianus, and scattered references in the Aristotelian commentaries; but a word may be added concerning Isidore's *Liber numerorum*. The Scriptural arithmology which forms a large part of this work is of course outside the field of this discussion; some of it was original, but much more modeled after the quasi-Philonic attempts to apply numerical symbolism to the Bible which were attractive to many early churchmen.¹ The non-scriptural part seems to come either from Capella or the latter's source, for sometimes Isidore adds to the topics of Capella. This, however, is outweighed by the fact that Isidore employs whole sentences in the very words of Capella, and the latter's style is unmistakable. To make clearer the general conclusions of this investigation a diagram showing the descent of the most important members of the S family is appended.

¹ Examples are the *Expositio in Psalterum* of Cassiodorus; Augustine in parts of *De civ. Dei*, *De div. quaest.* lxxiii, and *De musica*; Ambrose in *De Noe et arca* 12. 39, *De Abr.* 2. 9. 65, 2. 11. 80, *Exp. in Ev. sec. Luc.* vii. 95, 139, 173, and *Exp. in Psal.* cxviii, pp. 1198A, 1280B Migne.



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF THE LARES

BY GORDON LAING

In a recent number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*¹ Miss Margaret Waites revives the controversy in regard to the origin of the cult of the Lares. Adopting in substance the view held by Samter, De-Marchi, Rohde, von Domaszewski and others, she traces it to the worship of the Lar familiaris, in whom she recognizes "a good spirit, closely attached in each case to a particular family, to its dwelling and to the territory immediately surrounding the house." The worship of this spirit, she argues, "contains many features which seem to point to a chthonic cult and which imply that the Lar was originally worshiped as the spirit of the ancestor who had founded the family and still watched with devotion over the fortunes of his descendants."

One's immediate reaction on reading this article is that among all the theories of cult origins that die hard, this ancestor theory of the worship of the Lares has one of the first places. It is probably as old as Plautus, certainly goes as far back as Varro, and has the support of other Roman writers; it has established itself in the commentaries on many Latin authors, is found in more than one dictionary of antiquities, and is defended even by those specialists in Roman religion and folklore whom I have mentioned above. Within recent years, to be sure, its prestige has suffered in no inconsiderable degree through the opposition of Wissowa in his article in Roscher's *Lexicon*, in his volume *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, his discussion in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*,² and in other places. Moreover, Warde Fowler, after a grudging admission of its possibility in his *Roman Festivals*,³ has definitely rejected it in his *Religious Experience of the Roman People* (pp. 77-79). It is disregarded by Clifford Moore in his incidental reference to the cult in his book on

¹ XXIV (1920), 241-61, "The Nature of the Lares and Their Representation in Roman Art."

² VII, 42-57.

³ P. 337: "The Lares, who may have been the spirits of dead ancestors."

The Religious Thought of the Greeks,¹ and by Fox in his volume on *Greek and Roman Mythology*. Yet in spite of this trend of contemporary opinion it raises its head once more in this article in the *American Journal*, confident, unabashed, unafraid, and set forth with all that plausibility which Miss Waites's essays invariably show.

I must confess that I was surprised to see it. I have never wondered at finding it in editions of Latin authors. One gets trained to seeing anything there. Nor need its appearance in general works of reference cause anyone dismay. Many of these are scissors-and-paste compilations and tend to become vast repositories of error. But its advocacy by so brilliant a scholar as Miss Waites and its publication in so sober a periodical as the *American Journal of Archaeology* almost drive me to the conclusion that it is one of those academic vagaries which we shall always have with us.

In my opinion the theory has nothing to stand upon; and while I do not agree with all the points which Wissowa—for he, as Miss Waites rightly says, is its most vigorous opponent—has attempted to make against it, not one of the arguments urged in its favor is convincing.

That the theory, in one form or another, appears in Roman literature is a familiar fact. We find it in Varro in fragments preserved by Arnobius² and Augustine³ respectively, in Verrius Flaccus,⁴ and later in Apuleius⁵ and Martianus Capella.⁶ It is true also that

¹ P. 228: "In this first period the religion of the family also was already fixed in the form which it retained to the end of antiquity. Vesta of the hearth-fire, the Penates of the larder, the Lar of the farm, the Genius of the pater familias, were the divine powers which were worshipped in the house. Rites were paid also to the Manes, the shades of the dead."

² iii. 41: Varro . . . nunc esse illos manes et ideo Maniam matrem esse cognominatam Larum, nunc aërios rursus deos et heroas pronuntiat appellari, nunc antiquorum sententias sequens Larvas esse dicit Lares, quasi quosdam Genios et functorum animos.

³ *De civ. dei* vii. 6: inter lunae vero gyrum et nimborum ac ventorum cacumina aërias esse animas, sed eas animo non oculis videri et vocari heroas et Lares et Genios.

⁴ Paul, p. 121: Lares . . . animae esse putabantur hominum redactae in numerum deorum; *ibid.*, p. 239: deorum inferorum, quos vocant Lares.

⁵ *De deo Socrat.* 15, p. 15, 15 ff. Lütjoh.: ex hisce ergo Lemuribus qui posterorum suorum curam sortitus placato et quieto numine domum possidet, Lar dicitur familiaris.

⁶ ii. 155: hic [cf. Varro above, inter lunae gyrum et nimborum ac ventorum cacumina] igitur Lares, hic post membrorum nexum degunt animae puriores, quae plerumque si meritum excellentia sublimantur etiam circulum solis ac flammantia saepe transiliunt.

the word *Lares* in a number of cases is translated by the Greek *ἥρωες*.¹ None of these passages takes us farther back than the last century of the Republic. But Miss Waites² sees evidence of an earlier date in Plautus, *Merc.* 834, *familiari Lar pater*, and in the *Lar familiaris* of the prologue of the *Aulularia*. With Leo she thinks that in these two places *Lar* is a translation of *ἥρως*. This is probably correct, and the theory may easily be as old as the translators and adapters who played so important a part in Roman literature in the second and third centuries B.C. These writers were continually confronted with the problem of equating Greek with Roman gods. At any rate the belief is older than Varro, for there is no reason to doubt Arnobius' statement (iii. 41) that Varro in expressing the opinion that the *Lares* were the souls of the deceased was following the views of the ancients (*antiquorum sententias sequens*). But it makes very little difference when the theory is first referred to. The only question with which we are concerned is whether it contains the right explanation of the origin of the cult.

Let us look at this ancient testimony for a moment. It is not, on analysis, very formidable, consisting, as we have seen, of half a dozen passages in authors and a slightly larger number of references to the equation of *Lares* and *ἥρωες*. But it is even less significant than it appears at first sight, for an examination of the content of the passages shows that they are very largely influenced by a single writer, namely Varro. For example, the two statements in Verrius Flaccus probably go back to the view expressed by Varro in the fragment in Arnobius, while in Apuleius and Martianus Capella we have an elaboration of the Varronian theory found in the fragment in Augustine. Moreover, it is especially noticeable that Varro's own views, as stated by Arnobius, are far from giving the impression of any profound conviction: *Varro . . . nunc esse illos manes, nunc aërios rursus deos*. According to this he is uncertain whether

¹ Cf. Mon. Ancy. Gk. x. 11 and xviii. 23 = Lat. iv. 7 and vi. 33; Dionys. Hal. iv. 70 and iv. 2, where *ὁ κατ' οἰκίαν ἥρως* = *Lar familiaris*; *Corp. Gloss.*, II, 121, 14: *Lares familiares = ἥρωες κατοικίδιοι*; also the poetical inscription of Acerrae (*CIL*, X, 3757), *heroes qui Augusti nomen gerunt*, correctly interpreted by Mommsen as *Lares Augusti*; and Prudentius *Adv. Symm.* i. 190: *tot templa deum Romae, quot in urbe sepulchra heroum numerare licet, quos fabula manes nobilitat, noster populus veneratus adorat*, where the reference is to the shrines of the *Lares compitales*.

² P. 243.

the Lares are to be classed among the *di inferi*, or whether they should be assigned to the regions of the air. In fact, what Varro and the others offer us is not the definite statement of a widely accepted traditional belief, but a complex of vague speculations which attest little else than the uncertainty in which the whole question was involved. That Roman writers should err in such a matter is not surprising. Their theorizing in the field of religion is notoriously untrustworthy. In a large number of cases it is as wild as their etymologizing. They seem to have lacked that spirit of self-castigation without which progress in this subject is impossible. The haphazard methods which they employed in the identification of Latin and Greek gods show how reckless and unscientific they were. Furthermore, even if the first identification of Lares and ἡρώες is as early as Plautus, there is no evidence of its having established itself till a much later date. None of the examples cited (see footnote 1, p. 126) antedates the age of Augustus. Cicero equates Lares with δαίμονες, and apparently is in some doubt about the matter.¹

The testimony of the ancients, then, affords but feeble support for the theory that the cult of the Lares was a worship of souls. What can be said about the rites, ceremonies, and practices connected with it? Can evidence in favor of the theory be found here? De-Marchi,² Samter,³ and others answer in the affirmative. They cite the fact that at the festival of the Lares compitales it was customary to hang up at night on the crossroad shrines little woolen images of human beings and balls. This is recorded by Festus.⁴ The images, according to another passage in Festus,⁵ represented and corresponded numerically to the free members of the household, while the number of balls was determined by the number of slaves.

¹ *Tim.* 38: quos Graeci δαίμονας appellant, nostri opinor Lares, si modo hoc recte conversum videri potest. See Wissowa in Roscher's *Lexicon*, II, 1870.

² *Il culto privato*, I, 34 ff.

³ *Familienfeste*, pp. 111-14.

⁴ 121. 17: Laneae effigies Compitalibus noctu dabantur in compita.

⁵ 239. 1: Pilae et effigies viriles et muliebres ex lana Compitalibus suspendebantur in compitis, quod hunc diem festum esse deorum inferorum, quos vocant Lares, putarent, quibus tot pilae quot capita servorum, tot effigies quot essent liberi ponebantur, ut vivis parcerent et essent his pilis et simulacris contenti.

Macrobius¹ tells us that the Compitalia had been reorganized by Tarquinius Superbus; that this reorganization had included among the divinities worshiped not only the Lares but also Mania, the mother of the Lares; that, in accordance with an oracle of Apollo, slaves had been sacrificed to them, *ut pro capitibus supplicaretur*. Macrobius goes on to say² that this practice continued for some time, but after the expulsion of Tarquin, Junius Brutus substituted for the slaves heads of garlic and poppy. In the same passage he states that images were hung up to Mania before the doors of the houses to ward off any danger that might threaten the family.

In commenting on these passages the advocates of the theory point to Festus' statement (footnote 5, p. 127) *quod hunc diem* (i.e. the festival of the Compitalia) *festum esse deorum inferorum, quos vocant Lares, putarent*. Samter, moreover, lays special emphasis on the time at which this ceremony of suspension took place, namely the night. This, he argues, shows that we have to do with a rite of a propitiatory character celebrated in honor of chthonic deities. The woolen images of men and women he explains as substitutes for an original human sacrifice.³ It is his opinion that such a rite can belong only to a cult of souls or of some divinity of the earth, and concludes with the far from convincing argument that inasmuch as he has already proved that it is the Lar of the household (Lar familiaris) and not the Lar of the field that is the starting-point of the cult, all possibility of connection with earth divinities is excluded and it must be to the Lares as souls of the deceased that the images are suspended. But he has not proved that the Lar familiaris is the starting-point of the cult. Nor is there any evidence that the images were substitutes for human sacrifices. They may not have been offerings at all.⁴ The regular offering at the festival seems to have been cakes and, if

¹ Sat. i. 7. 34.

² *Loc. cit.*: Idque aliquamdiu observatum ut pro familiarium sospitate pueri mactarentur Maniae deae, matri Larum, quod sacrificii genus Iunius Brutus consul pulso Tarquinio aliter constituit celebrandum. Nam capitibus alii et papaveris supplicari iussit, ut responso Apollinis satis fieret de nomine capitum, remoto scilicet scelere infaustae sacrificiationis; factumque est ut effigies Maniae suspensae pro singulorum foribus periculum, si quid immineret familiis, expiarent.

³ He compares them with the puppets thrown into the Tiber by the Vestal Virgins on the occasion of the rite of the Argei on May 15.

⁴ See Wissowa, *Arch. f. Rel.*, VII, 55.

Propertius iv. 1. 23¹ refers to the Compitalia, a pig. Further, nocturnal rites were not confined to earth divinities or spirits of the dead,² and, what is of more importance for our inquiry, the Compitalia was probably celebrated in the daytime. This accords best with the description given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Finally I may draw attention to the lack of positiveness in Festus' statement (footnote 5, p. 127), who says that they hung up the images because they *thought* that this was a festival of the *dei inferi* called Lares. There is in this and in the passage in Macrobius (footnote 2, p. 128) the same atmosphere of speculation as in the citations from ancient authors referred to at the beginning of this article.

Samter³ sees further evidence of the Lares being the souls of the defunct in a custom referred to by Pliny the Elder xxviii. 27.⁴ That writer states that if any pieces of food fell from the hand they were gathered up and burned as an offering to the Lar. That this is a practice closely connected with the worship of souls, Samter attempts to show by the citation of parallels from the superstitions of other peoples. He mentions first of all the Greek belief that any bits of food that fell to the ground from the hand or the table were the portion of the spirits that dwelt in the house.⁵ He finds evidence of the custom among other races also. For example, at funeral meals in Prussia in primitive times it was usual for the guests to throw under the table something from each dish. This was for the refreshment of the souls of the deceased. What fell accidentally from the table was not picked up but was left for the "poor souls," i.e. the souls of those who had no relatives or friends among the

¹ Parva saginati lustrabant compita porci.

² Wissowa (*loc. cit.*, p. 55) cites as an example the practice of the consul rising *nocte silentio* to take the auspices. The consul did this, not because the souls of the dead were wandering about at night, but because the results of his inquiry must be available at daybreak. He thinks that the nocturnal suspension of the images was a preliminary preparation for the festival which began next day.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁴ Cibus etiam e manu prolapsus reddebatur utique per mensas vetabantque munitiarum causa deflare, et sunt condita auguria, quid loquenti cogitante id acciderit, inter execratisima, si pontifici accidat dicis causa epulanti. In mensa utique id reponi adolerique ad Larem pitiatio est.

⁵ He cites Diogenes Laertius viii. 34, who quotes Aristophanes; Athen. x. 427c; Suid. ii. 2, p. 553, 4; and Iamblichus *Vit. Pyth.* 126. See also Rohde, *Psyche*, I, 245.

living to provide them with nourishment and were therefore dependent on this chance sustenance. In the Palatinate crumbs that have fallen are collected and flung into the fire as food for the "poor souls." Among the Lithuanians bread crumbs are thrown upon the floor for the benefit of the souls of ancestors. In Bohemia crumbs are dropped into the fire for the souls; if they fall upon the ground and anyone steps on them, the souls, according to the native folklore, weep bitterly. In certain parts of the Tyrol also crumbs thrown into the fire are supposed to reach the souls of the poor.

These parallels are interesting but not convincing. Wissowa¹ meets them by contending that in the Pliny passage Lar is used for the whole group of domestic gods, and that Pliny might just as well have used the word Penates. However that may be, Samter's inferences are in the highest degree doubtful. Summed up his reasoning is as follows: Among many peoples it has been the custom to throw into the fire, as an offering to the souls of the deceased, pieces of food that have fallen on the floor. Among the Romans these were burned as an offering to the Lar. Therefore the Lar was the spirit of someone deceased. But this conclusion does not necessarily follow. Such offerings might have been intended for spirits other than the souls of the deceased. Probably the custom was of purely secular origin. For cleanliness' sake crumbs that fell on the floor were swept into the hearth fire. Later there grew up the idea that it was an offering to some divinity of the hearth. In countries where the souls of the departed were believed to haunt the hearth, they were thought of as the recipients. But any spirit connected with the hearth (as the Lar familiaris in its later development certainly was) might with equal plausibility be regarded as the deity to whom the offering was made.

Another point urged by the defenders of the ancestor theory is that the Lares must be connected with the goddess Larentia (also called Larentina and Larunda), whose festival, the Larentalia, was celebrated on December 23. But there is a difficulty in the fact that the *a* is short in Lares but long in Larentia, Larunda, and Larentalia. Samter² endeavors to meet this difficulty by quoting Zielinski's

¹ *Arch. f. Rel.*, VII, 45.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

contention that Ovid, who has Larentalia with long *a* in Fasti iii. 57, was forced to use a false quantity there because with short *a* Larentalia would not fit into a dactylic hexameter. He adds that the long *a* of Larentia used by Ovid in line 55 of the same book was due to the poet's desire to avoid inconsistency with the quantity which he was giving Larentalia two lines lower down. But all this is merely linguistic squirming; and the same may be said of Samter's attempt to discredit the long *a* of Larunda by pointing out that our sole authority for it is the fourth-century poet Ausonius, from whose works he cites a list of false quantities. De-Marchi¹ accepts the difference in quantity, but insists that it does not imply a difference in root any more than the different quantity of *statio* with short *a* and *stare* with long.

But even if there were not this difference in quantity and if a connection between the Lares and Larentia could be established, this would not throw much light on the question. To be sure, the ceremony of the Larentalia did consist of some sort of funeral rites, apparently in honor of Larentia, but there is the greatest uncertainty as to who she was. According to some she was the foster-mother of Romulus and Remus; others said that she was the mistress of Hercules.² She has been identified also with the mother of the Lares, but this is idle speculation and has no bearing on the question of the origin of the cult. The Lares certainly go far back in the history of Roman religion and belong to a period when fathers and mothers of gods were unknown. Divine genealogies belong to the period of Greek influence.

Before concluding my criticism of this theory I must refer to two other points. The first turns on the passage in Plautus, *Merc.* 836, where Charinus says: *ego mihi alios deos penates persequar, alium Larem, aliam urbem, aliam civitatem*. If the Lar was an ancestor, how could this young man hope to get another one? One of the things that cannot be changed in this world is an ancestor. The Romans had a proverb that a man must run a long way to escape from his relatives, but I take it that not even they thought a person

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 36.

² Fast. Praenest., Dec. 23: *Accae Larentiae. Hanc alii Remi et Romuli nutricem, alii meretricem, Herculis scortum (fuisse dicunt): parentari ei publice, etc.*

could change his blood kindred. I do not think that either of Miss Waites's¹ suggestions that Plautus was consciously aiming at a comic effect or that in Roman law ancestors could be changed by adoption really meets the difficulty.

My other point is one that by itself is sufficient to disprove the ancestor theory. It is the relative unimportance of the Lares on the occasion of the Parentalia, the regularly organized cult of the dead, the celebration of which occupied the days from the thirteenth to the twenty-first of February. If the Lares had been from the beginning regarded as the spirits of ancestors, surely their worship would have formed a much more prominent part of the festival than it did. It was only on the day after the festival, the twenty-second, when the Caristia was held—a sort of reunion of the surviving members of the family after they had fulfilled their duties to the dead—that any attention was paid to the Lares; and this seems to have been nothing more than what was due to them as domestic divinities on an occasion so important to the family as a whole.

Another view of the origin of the cult has been set forth by Walter Otto.² While dissenting from the ancestor theory and expressing the opinion that the Lares were spirits of fruitfulness,³ he claims that a connection between them and the lower world is beyond doubt. His argument is based largely upon the emendation of a fragment of Varro, through which we are given to understand that *maniae* were hung up on the shrines of the Lares, presumably the Lares compitales. Otto interprets *maniae* as meaning not dolls, as others say, but grotesque masks. He compares these *maniae* with *larvae*, emphasizes the fact that they were hung up at night, and on this flimsy substructure seeks to establish a connection with the lower world. But he does not explain the bearing of the other objects which even with his reading of the fragment were suspended at the same time as the *maniae*, namely *reticula* (hair nets) and *strophia*, which were the closest Roman approach to corsets. We must admit, however, that he does not make the mistake of which Wissowa is guilty when he says that the fragment describes

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 243.

² "Mania und Lares," *Arch. f. lat. Lex.*, XV, 113–20.

³ He refers especially to their being appealed to in the *Carmen Arvale*.

the offering made to the Lares by Latin girls on attaining puberty. For while all would concede that it would be highly appropriate for girls on the threshold of womanhood to give up their dolls (as Wissowa interprets *maniae*), most of us would contend that it would be a uniquely inappropriate time to discard corsets.¹

Let us now examine the view held by Wissowa. As I have already indicated, most of his arguments against Samter seem to me cogent and conclusive. But his own explanation of the origin of the cult is not, as it seems to me, tenable. His theory is that the Lares were originally divinities attached to places.² They had definite localities within which they manifested their power, e.g., on the farms, at the crossroads, in the farmhouse, and along the highways. For just as the crossroads (*compita*) had their Lares *compitales*, so the roads (*viae* and *semitae*) had their Lares *viales* and Lares *semitales*. To these Lares *viales* travelers-by-land prayed, just as those who journeyed by sea made vows to the Lares *permarini*. It was, according to Wissowa, in the fields that the cult began. From them it made its way into the house. In building up his theory that the cult is connected with places and not with persons, he contends that while we have many references to the Genius of this or that person or of a college or a curia or a legion and so forth, we do not find allusions to the Lar of a person or of a group of persons.

My first criticism of this theory is that his statement that there are no Lares of persons is not supported by the facts.³ The *familia*, to which the Lar *familiaris* belonged, was a group of persons. If the reference had been to the house instead of the household, the spirit would have been regularly called Lar *domesticus*, but this term, as compared with Lar *familiaris*, is rare. Moreover, we have not only the innumerable references to the Lares Augusti, that is the Lares of the emperor,⁴ but also many other examples. Perhaps the best-known of these is the case of the Lares Hostilii, i.e. the Lares of the Hostilian family.⁵ We find also in an inscription of

¹ Otto, *loc. cit.*, pp. 114 f.

² *Religion und Kultus*, p. 169.

³ See Waites, *loc. cit.*, p. 244.

⁴ Cf. Lares Caesaris nostri, Dessau, *Inscrip. Lat.*, 3542.

⁵ Waites, *loc. cit.*, p. 245.

Spain (*CIL*, II, 804) *diis Laribus Gapeticorum gentilitatis*; and in one belonging to the city of Rome (*ibid.*, VI, 10266) *Lares Volusiani*. In the tenth volume of the *Corpus* (8061, 1) we have the words *Larum Galillensium* on a seal, and from another inscription (*ibid.*, 7852) we know that *Galillenses* was the name of a people. In these instances the Lares are obviously connected with persons, and attempts to explain such references as local should convince no one. There is even an example of Lares curiales given in the *Bulletino Archeologico Comunale*, 1909, page 19, and commented on by Tomassetti there. It is not a local idea that we have in Lares praestites, or in the later Lares publici,¹ or Lares paterni.² Nor is the idea of locality to be found in the Lares militares: Dessau, *Inscrip. Lat.*, 451 *fin.*, 3637, and 3638. The first of these inscriptions occurs in the acts of the Arval Brothers; the other two stones were set up by military tribunes in Pannonia. Again, it would be interesting to know what local idea could be found in the inscription discussed by Zangemeister in *Rhein. Mus.*, XIX, 49 ff.: *Martis et Pacis Lari*. Noticeable also is the other inscription cited by Zangemeister, in which we find the phrase *nostri publice Lar populi*. Compare the metrical inscription found at Nicopolis in Lower Moesia (*CIL*, III, 754): *Lar mihi haec quondam, haec spes haec unica vitae*, where a husband, lamenting his dead wife, says that in her lifetime she had been his Lar. It is quite clear that it had never occurred to this man at least that only places, not persons, could have a Lar. And he little dreamed to what extent he was running counter to the ancestor theory when he spoke as if her service as a Lar had terminated with her life.

The passages I have quoted are, I think, enough to disprove Wissowa's limitation of the Lares to places. Another mistake that he makes is in his treatment of the Compitalia. One gathers from his discussion that it is here that the origin of the cult must be looked for. Possibly this is due to the fact that we happen to have more data about this phase of the worship of the Lares than about others. It was a popular festival and has won a place in the literary tradition. Then we have Tibullus'³ remark that the Lares were *agri custodes*,

¹ Dessau, *Inscrip. Lat.*, 99, 3625, 3629.

² Orelli, *Inscrip. Lat.*, 1667.

³ i. l. 20.

and Cicero¹ speaks of the shrines of the Lares as being *in agris* and of the *religio Larum* as *in fundi villaeque conspectu*. Wissowa's reconstruction of all this is that each farm had its Lar and that at the crossroads (*compita*) where adjoining properties converged a shrine was set up, with as many altars as there were individual properties contiguous to it. This he believes was the shrine of the Lares compitales, and in support of his view cites the description of boundary-line shrines in *Grom. Lat.*, p. 302, 20. But the word *compitum* is not used in that description.² *Compitum* means a place where roads cross, and this does not necessarily coincide with the boundaries between the holdings of different individuals, to which the *gromaticus* obviously refers in the passage cited. This insistence upon the field origin of the Lares has been the cause of endless error. It has diverted the inquiry. It was not, however, Wissowa who first drew this herring across the trail; it was Jordan³ in the note in which he described the extension of the cult from the fields to the house. But Wissowa has gone farther than Jordan. He has emphasized unduly the rural aspect of the cult. This after all was only one phase of it. It is significant that out of the list of twenty-one classes of Lares given in Roscher's *Lexicon* (1885-87) only one refers definitely to the country. That is the Lares rurales mentioned on the Capitoline base, and even in its case the reading is uncertain. The reference in the Arval hymn⁴ does not necessarily involve a close connection with the fields. Doubtless in the primitive period also the Arval Brothers appealed to divinities whose scope included more than the *arva*. It is not even certain that Mars, the appeal to whom in the hymn is side by side with that to the Lares, is addressed in any other capacity than as a protecting divinity of the people. In regard to the inscription⁵ said to have been on the

¹ *De leg.* ii. 8. 19; *ibid.* 11. 27.

² See Samter's discussion of this in *Arch. f. Rel.*, X, 369 ff.

³ Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.*, II, 102, n. 2: "Lases . . . sind ihrem Wesen nach ursprünglich Flurgötter (als solche werden sie geradezu definirt bei Cicero *De leg.* II. 8. 19, angerufen im Arvallied, verehrt in Campanien und im Arvalhain), haften daher an *domus familiaeque* des grundbesitzenden römischen Bürgers . . . und behüten wie auf der Flur so in der Stadt Weg und Kreuzweg."

⁴ Henzen, *Act. Frat. Arv.*, p. 26: *enos Lases iuvate*.

⁵ Quoted by Tertullian *Spect.* 5: *Consus consilio, Mars duello, Lares † coillo potentes*.

altar of Consus, the uncertainty of its text and the quality of the information implied in the derivation of Consus from *consilium* combine to make it negligible. In the passages cited above (pp. 134, 135), Cicero and Tibullus were obviously referring to the Lares compitales, many of whose shrines were of necessity in the rural districts. Furthermore, Wissowa's account of the Lares compitales would lead one to suppose that they were not spirits of the cross-roads at all, but merely spirits of the fields worshiped at the cross-roads. He does not recognize the fact that they should be linked with the Lares viales to which we have so many references.

But it would be presumptuous in me to criticize so old a belief as the ancestor theory and so distinguished a scholar as Wissowa without offering an explanation of my own. I can give my opinion in a few words. To begin with, I think that we should recognize that we have in the appeal to the Lares in the Arval hymn and in the reference to them in the formula of devotion of Decius¹ a stratum of data that, meager as it is, must be considered by itself. It confuses the issue to consider these references side by side with those belonging to a much later period and to a more developed stage of the cult. In both we see the Lares—without limiting or descriptive epithet—as they were when Roman religion was just beginning to emerge from that pandemonism which was the most notable characteristic of its primitive state. They were *δαίμονες* in the broadest sense in which the Greeks used that word. Their name was a generic term for a class of divinities the range of whose powers was not precisely defined in the minds of their worshipers. To the early Latins the world swarmed with spirits, nor can we for a moment assume that such specialization as we find, for example, in the prayer to the twelve gods of agriculture at the beginning of the sowing season existed in the earliest period, or even in later times extended to all gods or groups of gods. And among the groups that in those early days were without precise delimitation of function I would place the Lares. That they were thought of *en masse*, as it were, need surprise no one. Think how long the Manes, though belonging to a wholly different sphere, were conceived of in the same way. But

¹ Liv. viii. 9. 6: Jane, Juppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, divi novensiles, di indigetes, divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, diique manes.

these early Lares were not merely without specific field of activity; they were also without limitation in number. To the primitive Latin mind their name¹ carried no more definite numerical connotation than the words brownies, spirits, angels, do to us. When we meet them in the Arval hymn and in the formula of devotion, it is true that other Roman gods had emerged from the pandemonic swarm and attained individuality. In the hymn, it will be remembered, Mars is appealed to at the same time as the Lares, and in the *devotio* of Decius they are mentioned together with Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and Bellona. In the *devotio*, however, they go more closely with the latter part of the list, namely the groups *divi novensiles*, *di indigetes*, *divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque*, and *Manes*. They were mentioned with these because they were thought of as belonging to the category of gods whose powers to help or harm were not confined to any special field, but were of a comprehensive and general character.

But there is other evidence of the vague and general character of the Lares in the early period. This lies in the later practice of attaching to the word Lares an epithet indicating the special field in which they were supposed to operate. For example, to the word Lares, which by itself would indicate merely spirits that could either protect or injure, there was added, apparently in a fairly early period, the epithet *praestites*, and the obvious interpretation of Lares *praestites* is "the spirits that protect the community." And in the same way *Lar familiaris* is the spirit that protects the *familia* (i.e. the household group: the family proper and especially their slaves and freedmen); Lares *compitales*, the spirits that haunt the crossroads; Lares *permarini*, those that follow the sea; Lares *militares*, those that help in war. We hear even of a *Lar agrestis*, spirit of the woodland. There is no need to give here the names of all the classes of Lares that have come down to us. Doubtless these are only a part of those that the Latins knew. It was in the nature of such vaguely conceived beings that subdivision into classes could continue indefinitely. It is idle to pick out one of these classes and say that it is the original, and that from it the

¹ Fowler speaks of the multiplex groups in early Roman religion, "like the Fauni Silvani, Lares, Penates, Semones, Carmentes," *RF*, p. 337.

others are derived: to say, for example, that those worshiped at the *compita* were the earliest and that they crowded from the farm into the farmhouse, and from the farmhouse passed to the city-house, and that, once the idea of them as protecting deities had arisen, their guardianship was extended to other spheres, and that in this way all the classes came into existence. Much simpler and, as it seems to me, more probable is the assumption of such Lares as I have posited for the early period: spirits of so general a type that they could be connected with persons or places or activities widely divergent. Certainly the existence of all these different classes—each with its determining epithet—is significant, and the high potentiality of diversity of field and function which it indicates is of the very essence of the original character of the cult. Probably such a type as the Lares praestites arose at an early date, but it is neither possible nor especially important to determine in what order the other subdivisions were detached from the parent swarm. In the fact that some of the classes were of relatively late development we have simply an indication that the original idea of the Lares survived throughout the history of the cult. Of the pertinacity of the original concept we have another striking piece of evidence in this that Latin writers sometimes use the word Lares as the practical equivalent of *dei*.¹ There was of course some differentiation accorded to them, or they never would have attained to a name of their own. We have some information on this point, and we get it from Cicero, who speaks of them as *dei plebei*: that is, they were an inferior order of divinities, as compared with those whose individuality had emerged with more or less definiteness from the throng of spirits that pervaded the world. The passage in Ovid *Ibis* 81 f. bears directly upon this point: *plebs superum, Fauni Satyrique Laresque Fluminaeque et Nymphae semideumque genus*. Just what the word Lares means no one can say with any degree of positiveness. Its etymology has been much discussed, but with meager results.² Among the more

¹ Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, p. 170, speaks of this as a late development: "die in späterer Zeit auftretende Verallgemeinerung des Larenbegriffes, vermöge deren das Wort so ziemlich mit *deus* oder *numen* gleichbedeutend wird." But this usage was not a late development. It was a survival of the original meaning.

² See Walde, *Lat. Etymol. Wört.*, p. 413.

plausible of the derivations is that which connects it with *lascivus*.¹ Certainly the waywardness and liveliness which that word connotes may be said to accord well with the familiar representation in sculpture and painting of the dancing Lar, as well as with Naevius'² phrase *Lares ludentis* and all that has come down to us in regard to the merriment of the Compitalia. Indeed one of the mysteries of the ancestor theory is how anyone can reconcile such merry sprites with the Romans' idea of their grandfathers.

I am aware that some of the readers of this article may say that the conception of the original Lares which I have suggested is too vague to be tenable. It will be argued that a more definite sphere and more specific functions should be assigned to them. In reply I would point out that the cult goes back to that dawn of religion of which vagueness was a dominant characteristic.³ The neat pigeon-holing of divine beings, which is the obsession of later ages, made but scant appeal to the primitive mind. They believed in the existence of these spirits; they believed that they could protect or injure persons or places, and that they operated in many spheres and in many ways; and they believed that it was highly important to establish friendly relations with them. But they did not push their analysis farther.

Yet while the original Lares were spirits of the general type that I have attempted to describe, it goes without saying that the different groups, as they became detached from the mass, tended to develop characteristics and rites that were their own. The Lares compitales are a case in point. And while we may well distrust the explanations of the ancients in regard to the woolen images and balls hung up on the shrines, there is no reason for doubting the fact of suspension. There may have been some design of conciliation in the practice. For the Lares were not necessarily and inevitably beneficent. We may reasonably assume a certain degree of capriciousness in them.

¹ See Ehrlich, *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachforsch.*, XLI (1907), 299: "Das Indische kennt ein *lasati*, 'er ist lebhaft' = **leseti*, *lasati*, 'er verlangt'; damit verbindet man passend *λίσσεται* = *λίσσονται*, 'heftig verlangen,' gotisch *lustus*, 'lust,' lat. *lascivus*, 'lebhaft.'" Cf. Bréal, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, VIII, 46.

² Ribbeck, *Com. frag.*, p. 24.

³ In regard to the indistinctness of many of the early religious conceptions of the Romans see Fowler, *RF*, p. 337.

We do not know how old the practice of hanging up the images was. It probably was Italic in origin. At any rate there is no good ground for assuming Greek influence. To Greek influence, however, we may possibly ascribe some degree of *rapprochement* between these spirits of the roads and crossroads and the worship of Hecate.¹ This in turn may have contributed to the belief in a connection with the lower world. Another contribution to the same belief was in all likelihood made by the resemblance in sound between the word Lares and Larentalia, the festival of the dead held in December. That the quantity of the *a* differed in the two words would be no bar to the speculations of the ancients. The Lar familiaris also, after its association with the hearth had become established, responded to the influence of its environment, and we can only regard as later accretions those phallic myths on which so much stress has been laid in the discussion of the origin of the cult.

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¹ See Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*, p. 297; Otto, *loc. cit.*, p. 118.

DRYDEN'S LUCIAN

BY HARDIN CRAIG

About 1504 a copy of Lucian, printed in 1503 by Aldus, fell into the hands of Erasmus, who became the greatest of all Lucianists. He made translations of certain dialogues into Latin, which were published in Paris in 1506. These translations, usually with certain other selections rendered into Latin by Sir Thomas More, were included in the works of Erasmus and were reprinted together at Basle in 1521, and with those of Melanchthon and others appear in a Latin translation of Lucian completed by Mycillus and published at Frankfort in 1538; also in two familiar Greek and Latin editions, the first published at Basle in 1563 (reissued in 1602), the second that of Bourdelot published at Paris in 1615.¹

But whatever popular knowledge of Lucian may have arisen from this translation into Latin by Erasmus and other scholars of the Renaissance was possibly of less importance than the spread of a sort of Lucianism through the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, used as a school text in England for three centuries. They served, more than Plato himself, to make the dialogue a completely familiar form. Many of the studies of the dialogue have failed to take this into consideration.²

Even the *Colloquies* are, however, no less popular than are two other works. The *Encomium moriae*, a Lucianic work by Erasmus, has affected powerfully the stream of literature dealing with the subject of human folly from Sebastian Brandt's *Narrenschiff* to the latest number of *Punch*; and the *Vera historia* of Lucian himself, it is a commonplace to say, is among the greatest of all progenitors of literary favorites. It still circulates and still bears comparison with the greatest of its progeny.

¹ R. Förster, "Lucian in der Renaissance," *Archiv für Literaturgesch.*, XIV (1886), 337 ff.; J. Rentsch, *Lucianstudien*, Plauen i. V., 1895; P. Schulze, *Lucian in der Literatur u. Kunst der Renaissance*, Dessau, 1906; J. A. Faulkner, *Erasmus the Scholar*, New York, 1907; many general accounts.

² Elizabeth Merrill, *Dialogue in English*, New York, 1911; B. V. Crawford, "Prose Dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXIV, 601-9; R. Hirszel, *Der Dialog*, Leipzig, 1895; Croiset, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Lucien*, Paris, 1882, pp. 338 ff.

One of Lucian's dialogues, *Misanthropos* or *Timon*, has a special history. The story of Timon is told also by Plutarch, was familiar to the age of Queen Elizabeth, and, through Shakespeare's play, has remained so.¹

In general, Lucian, whatever he may have amounted to indirectly through Erasmus and through the imitators of *Vera historia*, was until the seventeenth century a person of small importance, compared, let us say, with Ovid. One principal reason for this is that he was popularly regarded as an enemy to Christianity and a renegade from the faith. Lucian has a subversive attitude toward religion. He is too mordant in his satires for times of religious peace, and he is let alone. In times of stress he may be used as a fulcrum to upset hierarchies. There is fair evidence to show that he was known by certain church fathers in their attack on heathenism; Erasmus resorted to him to assail monasticism; and, as we shall try to show, the deists possibly found use for him in their attack upon theism in the age of Dryden. His amatory works also made him attractive to that age.

I. LUCIAN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The translation of Lucian into English begins with Francis Hickes (1566-1631) whose son Thomas Hickes published after his father's death:

Certain Select Dialogues of Lucian, together with his True History. Translated from the Greeke into English by Mr. Francis Hickes. Whereunto is added a life of Lucian gathered out of his owne Writings with Brief notes and illustrations upon each Dialogue and Book by Mr. T. H., Mr. of Arts of Christ Church in Oxford. Oxford, 1634.

The book is dedicated to the Right Worshipful Dr. Duppa, Dean of Christ Church and Vice Chancellor of the University. It contains Lucian's *Life or his Dream*; *Icaromenippus*; *The Dream, or the Cock*; *The Infernal Ferrie, or the Tyrant*; *True History, Book I*; *True History, Book II*; *Timon*; *Lucian's Feast, or the Lapithae*.

Hickes was a scholar who knew Greek and followed his original simply and effectively. He was, according to the *Dictionary of*

¹ F. Fritsche, *De Timone Luciani et Shakespearii*, Rostock, 1870; Joseph Quincy Adams, Jr., "The Timon Plays," *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, IX, 506-24.

National Biography, the author of translations of Thucydides and Herodian in the library of Christ Church, and still unpublished. The life of Lucian by Thomas Hickes is excellent; it is significantly called a vindication.

Three years later fifteen pieces in verse, all, except *Timon*, from the *Dialogues of the Gods* and the *Dialogues of the Dead*, appeared in:

Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas selected out of Lucian, Erasmus, Textor, Ovid, etc. With Sundry Emblems extracted from the most Elegant Jacobus Catsius. By Thos. Heywood. London, 1637.

About the same time Jasper Mayne (1604–72) made his translation of Lucian, which was not, however, published until after the Restoration:

Part of Lucian made English from the Original in the Year 1638. By Jasper Mayne then Master of Arts, and one of the Students of Christ Church. To which are adjoyned those other Dialogues of Lucian as they were formerly translated by Mr. Francis Hicks. Oxford, H. Hall for R. Davis, 1663.

Mayne translates: *Answer to one that said You are Prometheus; An Epistle to Nigrinus; Nigrinus; The King Fisher; Prometheus or Caucasus; Prometheus and Jupiter; Jupiter and Cupid; Apollo and Vulcan; Jupiter, Aesculapius and Hercules; Juno and Jupiter; Venus and Cupid; Mars and Mercury; Jupiter and the Sun; Cyclops and Neptune; Alpheus and Neptune; Menelaus and Proteus; Neptune and a Dolphin; Diogenes and Pollux; Pluto, or a Complaint against Menippus; Pluto and Mercury; Terpsion and Pluto; Zenophantes and Callidemides; Cnemon and Damippus; Charon, Mercury, Dead Men, etc.; Crates and Diogenes; Alexander, Hannibal, Minos, Scipio; Diogenes and Alexander; Of such as are employed for Reward; A Defense of those employed for Reward; Tyrant Slayer; Disinherited Son; Alexander, or the False Prophet; Tozaris; Anacharsis; Sorrowing for the Dead; Hercules of Gaul; The Ship; Counsell of your Gods; The Decree; The Images; A Defense of the Images; Jupiter Tragedian; The Cynic; Jupiter Confuted; The Parasite; The Lover of Lies; Defense of Dancing; The Sale of Philosophers; The Fisherman.*

Mayne was also of Christ Church, so that his work is probably to be connected with that of Hickes, whom he praises in his Epistle Dedicatory. It will also be noted that he translates a different set

of dialogues from those of his predecessor, and that, contrary to the statement on the title-page, Hickeys's translations are not included in the book as originally issued. Hickeys's dialogues were reissued also for Davies in Oxford in 1664, and added by that printer to those of Mayne with the same title-page as Mayne's edition of the year before. Dryden professes ignorance of any earlier English translator than Mayne and seems, therefore, to have known only the independent volume by Mayne.

We have next to record the first translation into English of the complete works of Lucian. It is the work of a clever and impertinent coxcomb who, in spite of his pretenses, worked straight from the French version of Perrot D'Ablancourt, first published in 1634 and reissued in Paris in 1654. His name was Ferrand Spence, and he was possibly a Cambridge man, since many of the laudatory verses which accompany his volumes are from Cambridge. He is unknown except for the Lucian and other translations from the French: *Lucian's Works, Translated from the Greek to which is Prefixed the Life of Lucian*, by Ferrand Spence, London, 1684.

His comfort is, he says in his flamboyant Epistle Dedicatory to Brian Turner, Esquire, that he has not imitated Sir Thomas More, who in his Latin version has been "too superstitious and has purely and slavishly rendered Lucian word for word," nor Obsopoeus, "who is much more luxurious in his Latin than Lucian himself in his wanton copious Greek." These ideas Spence borrowed from J. Benedict's *Praefatio ad lectorem*. He has chosen to follow M. Perrot D'Ablancourt, who is most successful of all in "blotting out and varnishing o'er our Author's deformities." He claims as good a title as "the immortal Jasper, notwithstanding the many excellent strokes he hath left in these pieces." Spence has not, he says, "made Lucian run counter to himself, nor to affect the Ting Tong, chiming and gingling as Mr. Hicks (likewise) has done in some of his most serious discourses."

Spence anticipates attacks from certain dictators of criticism, who will think he has made too free with Lucian. He has made over Lucian for his own age. Although he has taken liberties with Lucian, it has been for Lucian's own good, since "to have drawn him to the life, tainted with the vices and misfortunes of his age,"

would have made him a satire upon himself and a scandal to Spence's own polite and superior time. Lucian's sins he has "superabundantly mortified"; nay, Lucian, in his opinion, may almost be said "to have risen from the dead, with a glorified body, baptized into our language." He has indeed stopped just short of the canonization of Lucian, for that would be "a work of very great difficulty and charge." Lucian's style he thinks "too much tinged with the luxuriousness and intemperance of his age, savoring too much of the debauchee." He hopes to present Lucian like an ambassador complying with the garb and manners of the nation he visits and by this means securing "favorable reception and entertainment." A good translator, he thinks, has "a more difficult business upon his hands than the first author." Lucian's habit of quoting Homer, if followed in translation, would make him seem "pedantic and much inferior to the Thrums of Chivy-Chase, or Sternhold's Heroic Ditties"; also Lucian's "old trite fables, superannuated proverbs, similes and examples" would produce an effect diametrically opposite to his design, which was "gallantry and railery and not learning." All of this material, except the reference to Chivy-Chase and Sternhold, Spence has translated or perverted from D'Ablancourt's *Epistre*.

Spence follows Mayne in saying that several of the most eminent champions of Christianity have borrowed arms and artillery from Lucian's magazine for their attack on impiety and polytheism; and he adds "the ferrets of our honest old Christian Fathers tell me that St. Chrysostom hath suckt and spung'd whole Homilies, almost verbatim, out of Lucian," this same Chrysostom being "a notable man in his day." What Mayne says is that Lactantius may have borrowed Christian arguments from the *Hermotimus*, and that various Christian fathers, no less than Lucian, have "armed their pens against the superstitions of those times." As for the statement about St. Chrysostom, Spence borrowed that with exaggeration from Thomas Hickeys's life of Lucian, who in turn follows, with proper acknowledgment however, Gilbertus Cognatus, *In elogio Luciani*, in saying that a portion of the eightieth homily on the Gospel of St. John is derived from Lucian's *Cynicus*. It is at best a very general parallel.

Lucian's design, says Spence, is "to drive and whoop idolatry out of the world," to show "all the gods and goddesses to be no better than a company of gypsies," and to make "the scales fall from the eyes of the blear-ey'd populace, by making a company of perjur'd rascally gods and bilking gossiping goddesses dispute against one another and vote and laugh themselves out of the world." Lucian attacks the "darling vices of mankind," and the abominations of philosophy, which in that age was "infested with a vermine" like that which infests religion today.

After further remarks of an anticlerical nature, Spence continues in the same exuberant style on the subject of vanity, which he thinks a great source of both magnanimous and ignominious actions in the world. Among examples of vanity is apparently Dryden, who, as the butt of *The Rehearsal*, seems to be alluded to in the statement that "one day's brush has eclips'd the glory which one of the topping Bullies of Europe has been blustering for these many years, and whom a kind of upstart on the stage has by one tryal of skill, dwindled into a sort of puny, deputy, secondhanded Heck." Baxter and Lobb also come in for abuse.

Spence next discusses the dialogue, mentioning, particularly, "the success of that worthy and eminent person who has with the greatest height of wit, and depth of reason, Writ Dialogue-wise against Mr. Hobbs."

In his Publisher's Notice to the second volume, it is declared that the translator has been so much encouraged that he has prepared an epistle imitative of Lucian, *Lucian's Aversions*, "wherein he hath largely run through degrees and professions of men discovering the follies and vanities of this age"; it is to be published at the beginning of the third volume at the commencement of Easter term. There are many laudatory verses in this volume from the universities; they liken Spence to Raleigh and Perseus and long for Cowley's quill to do him justice. One copy, signed P. R., expresses astonishment at such a work's having been done at seven and twenty; Spence was, therefore, born about 1657. The third volume comes out with a change of tone; "the essay and vindication" has been again postponed to a later volume. The Advertisement apologizes for wantonness, but the laudatory verses persist. The fourth

volume appeared in 1685 with a change of printers. The apology and the epistle imitative of Lucian were not forthcoming, but the laudatory verses, still of very bad quality, appear as before. A fifth volume is bound with the fourth.

Spence's life of Lucian is drawn almost verbatim from Thomas Hickee with occasional borrowings from D'Ablancourt. He supplies from an unknown source the following erroneous statement. Although he uses no other Latin originals, he might of course have derived it from Bourdelot, who is usually accredited with the error:¹ "He had one son, who in Julian's time prov'd a mighty Sophister, and was dear to that emperor upon the account not only of his own abilities, but perhaps of his Father's Merits too: And there is still extant one Epistle of that Prince to him."

Spence's translation is almost word for word from D'Ablancourt with occasional phraseology derived from Mayne. He disguises his adherence to D'Ablancourt by many oddities of expression which form the chief curiosity of the version. His notes, in which he usually follows D'Ablancourt, are made to present a show of learning by the reproduction in Greek or Latin of easy references to Homer and other school authors.

Spence is thus a plagiarist and a pretender throughout his work, carrying the whole thing off with a remarkable display of vanity and "gallantry." We need not, however, be too hard upon him for the sake of the famous jest of which he was the occasion. Dryden in his *Life of Lucian*, actuated no doubt by contempt for the poorness of Spence's performance and possibly by the insulting reference to himself in Spence's Epistle, falls sharply upon Spence, who, he says, has leaned heavily upon D'Ablancourt and used the gross expressions of Billingsgate, or Moorfields, and Bartholomew Fair, to render the fine raillery and Attic salt of Lucian. He quotes a witticism of Dorset in reference to Spence's translation, "that he [Spence] was so cunning a translator that a man must consult the original to understand the version."²

Meantime, there were, as the *Term Catalogues* show, other activities pertaining to Lucian both in the original and in English.

¹ Fabricii *Bibl. Graec.* IV, 16, p. 488.

² Repeated in Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*, III, 170.

A Greek-Latin edition of the *Dialogues* was printed for Robert Scot and others, November, 1676. Later, selections from the *Dialogues* with Latin translation edited by William Dugardus, were printed for J. Williams in May, 1677; and in February, 1678, was published the first work of the only person in the country who had any right to be considered a Lucian scholar, Edward Leedes (1627-1707), master of the grammar school at Bury St. Edmunds:

Nonnulli e Luciani Dialogis Selecti et scholiis Illustrati, ab Edw. Leeds, cui in Schola Buriensi contigerunt esse curae, τὸ σφιν καὶ το μὲν ἦδε [sic] το νῦν, in usum eorum qui, dum Graecari student, non metuunt interim ridere. Printed for N. and T. Simmons.¹

The work was based on the edition of J. Benedict, published at Saumur in 1619, and in November, 1704, Leedes reissued his work in expanded form:

Nonnulli Duo [de?] Luciani Dialogis selecti, et in Duas Partes divisi; alteram prius editam, alteram nunc editam. Omnes scholiis illustrati ab Edwardo Leedes; cui in Schola Buriensi Graeca Lingua et Minutissimae (?) ejus partes contingerunt [contigerunt] esse curae; accessit etiam (quod ad hanc rem spectare visum est) qui re quid [quicquid] Scripserunt Graevius, Gronovius, Jeussus [Jensius]; cum nuper tantum edito scholiastae [scholiasta] Graeco. Impensis R. Clavell, S. Smith, et B. Walford, Bibliop., London.

This book appeared again with return to the older form of title-page in May, 1711.² What really happened was that Leedes revised and amplified his work from J. G. Graevius' edition of Lucian, which appeared at Amsterdam in 1687.

In November, 1674, appeared *Burlesque upon Burlesque, or The Scoffer Scoft; being some of Lucian's Dialogues newly put into English Fustian*. Printed for Henry Brome. The British Museum copy is dated 1675. A second part appeared in June, 1684, and a second edition of the whole in May and June, 1686. The second edition is advertised as corrected by Charles Cotton, Esq., imitator of Scarron and author of *Virgil Travestie*; and *Burlesque upon Burlesque* was included in his *Genuine Works* published in 1715. He travesties,

¹ *The Term Catalogues*, edited by Edward Arber (London, 1903), I, 261, 278, 303.

² *Term Cat.*, III, 431, 675.

in his peculiarly painful style, *Prometheus, or Caucasus; Vulcan, Mercury and Prometheus*, and the whole list of the *Dialogues of the Gods*.¹

Other works noted in the *Term Catalogues* are these:

Lucian's Ghost, or Dialogues between the Dead wandering in the Elizian shades. Composed in French; and now paraphrased into English by a person of Quality. Printed for J. Norris, November, 1683. No copy of this is known, but it is to be noted that Fontenelle's *Dialogues des morts* were published in that year, and this may have been a translation of them.

Lucian's Dialogues (not) from the Greek. Done into English Burlesque. The first and second parts. Folio. Printed for W. Bateman. May, 1684. This is in verse. There is a copy in the British Museum, but I have not seen it.

Dialogues of the Dead, Ancient and Modern, the Second Part: dedicated to Lucian in Elysium. Printed for R. Bentley, February, 1685.

Dialogues of the Living and the Dead; in imitation of Lucian and the French. First Dialogue of the Living, Between Mr. Pronoun and a Gentleman. First Dialogue of the Dead, Tom Killigrew and Molley. 2. Lucian and the author of the French Dialogues of the Dead, and a Joyner, etc. Sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster. February, 1702.

English Lucian. Numb. 1, or Modern Dialogues between a Vintner and his Wife; a Reformer of Manners and his Wife, and a Captain of the Guards; A Master of Arts and a Lady's Woman. Printed for J. Nutt near Stationers-Hall, June, 1702. Of this there is a copy in the British Museum.

There appear also a large number of dialogues more or less directly imitative of Lucian. Dr. William King publishes anonymously his *Dialogues of the Dead relating to the present controversy concerning the Epistles of Phalaris* in November, 1699. Tom Brown translates ten dialogues entitled *The Circe* from Giovanni Baptista Gelli in February, 1702, and there are publications of his own numerous dialogues. A volume entitled *Visits from the Shades* appears

¹ *Term Cat.*, I, 188; II, 85, 172; III, 653.

with a group of Brown's work in May, 1704; but such works toward the end of the century grow too numerous to be mentioned in detail in this paper.¹

II. DRYDEN AND LUCIAN

In 1696 Dryden wrote a life of Lucian to be prefixed to a new translation of all the works of Lucian, the translation to be the joint work of several hands.

Translation from the classics into English in the age of Dryden differed widely from that of the earlier years of the seventeenth century. It was not more free in rendering or more inaccurate, but with better facilities it was much less scholarly. It put a local and temporary stamp on all that it did, marked it for almost the sole use of its own age, and took pride in so doing. The age knew little Greek and had little conscience about its originals; in fact, it may be said that it was an age of translation of classical languages through the medium of French. Translators worked from French versions, and probably only the more careful translators compared their second-hand results with an original text. The age had also the interesting peculiarity that it produced translations by dividing the work to be translated among a group of writers.

Translation in the age centers in the figure of Dryden and was done, when it was done well, according to the liberal ideas of translation which he followed and expounded. Dryden was fond of discussing the principles of translation. In two works particularly he has expressed opinions which are lacking neither in scholarly conscience nor in veneration for the classics; namely, "Preface on Translation," prefixed to the *Second Miscellany* (1685), and the *Life of Lucian*.² Translation, according to Dryden, was the free rendering of the ideas and spirit of an original, and was not obliged to adhere with any strictness to an actual text. He insists that the translator should be a master of both languages, but if a deficiency be allowed in either, let it be in the original. The ideal is reached when a translator, knowing his author, makes him over into a work of the translator's own time. The dangers involved in the putting into practice of Dryden's principles are obvious, and one suspects, usually

¹ *Term Cat.*, II, 50, 116, 159, 244, 247, 427, 599, 649; III, 288, 289, 359, 402, 455.

² Scott and Saintsbury, *John Dryden's Works*, XII, 281 ff., and XVIII, 82 ff.

not without reason, every member of the group whose work he directed or interpreted of using a French translation in order to understand his Latin or Greek original. There was, however, a steady degeneration in the taste of the age which makes Dryden himself a venerable classicist as compared with his later contemporaries and his immediate successors.

His first experience, as a sponsor for the translation of serious works, was gratefully remembered by him. He had written a life of Plutarch and a dignified dedication to the Duke of Ormond for the great prose translation of the *Lives* which had appeared in 1683. It had been the work of many hands and had had among its collaborators "men of known fame and abilities for style and ornament." Malone enumerates, as the most considerable persons associated in this undertaking, Richard Duke and Knightly Chetwood, Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge; Paul Rycault, Esq.; Thomas Creech, of Wadham College, Oxford, the translator of Horace, etc.; Edward Brown, M.D., author of *Travels in Germany*, etc.; Dr. Adam Littleton, author of the Latin dictionary; John Caryl, Esq., whom Malone believed to be the friend of Pope; Mr. Joseph Arrowsmith; Thomas Rymer, Esq.; Dr. William Oldys; John Evelyn, Esq.; and Mr. Somers, afterward Lord Somers, who according to Malone translated the unsigned *Life of Alcibiades*. This was a more distinguished group than were likely to be got together again.¹ Jacob Tonson was the publisher and the work was popular; it is in truth one of the best translations of the age. Dryden saw in this manner of translation a really distinguished public service, and in this spirit he undertook his life of Lucian. He was, however, to be associated in the later enterprise with a much more miscellaneous group than in the former, and, as a whole, with much poorer scholars, many of them literary hacks, in fact, who ground out their work with little pride or care.

Dryden derived his material almost word for word from Zvinger's life and the *Elogium* of Gilbertus Cognatus appearing in the Basle editions of 1563 and 1602. A Latin translation of the life by Suidas is also given there; so that this edition may be said to be his principal

¹ Edm. Malone, *Prose Works of John Dryden*, London, 1800, II, 331; Scott and Saintsbury, XVII, 3.

source. He may have read D'Ablancourt, to whom he refers. He repeats the absurd error, apparently from Spence, that Lucian's son was a philosopher and a favorite of the emperor Julian, a piece of misinformation he did not get from Zvinger and Cognatus. He quotes Dr. Mayne as an authority on Lucian's life, presumably following the Epistle Dedicatory, but professes ignorance of all earlier translations in English than that of Mayne. He can hardly, therefore, have used Thomas Hickes's excellent life, made up of materials derived from the works of Lucian, which was incorporated with Mayne's translation in 1664.

Dryden devotes some space to proving that Lucian had never been a Christian, but "merely ran a muck and laid about him on all sides with more fury on the heathen, whose religion he professed; he struck at ours but casually, as it came in his way, rather than as he sought it; he condemned it too much to write in earnest against it."

He quotes with approval the opinion of Mayne, who is following Cognatus and other scholars, that the *Philopatrīs* is not by Lucian, and would also, without sufficient reason, reject the *Peregrinus*.

He next argues that in his attack on heathenism Lucian was a positive assistance to Christianity. "One of Lucian's translators [Mayne] pleads in his defense that it was very improbable a man who has laughed Paganism out of doors, should believe no God; that he who could point to the sepulchre of Jupiter in Crete, as well as our Tertullian, should be an atheist." This is apparently a reference to the *Apology*, chapter 25.¹ "One of the greatest among the fathers," he says also in the *Life of Lucian*, "has drawn whole homilies from our author's Dialogues—St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine and many others have used his arguments with better motives than the author proposed." In the reference to St. Chrysostom, Dryden is following Spence's lead. As to St. Augustine, there are minor parallels cited between Lucian and St. Augustine, as well as Tertullian, in the notes to the edition of Graevius, whom Dryden mentions. Since general parallels with Lucian are fairly abundant in St. Augustine's denunciation of heathenism, Dryden may have supplied this allusion himself.

¹ See also, for a sort of Lucianic ferocity in Tertullian, *Apology*, xi; *Ad Nationes*, ii. xiii; and the *Fragment on the Execrable Heathen Gods*.

Dryden thus sums up Lucian in his "character":

He was too fantastical, too giddy, too irresolute, either to be anything at all, or anything long; and in this view I cannot think he was either a steady atheist, or a deist, but a doubter, a sceptic, as he plainly declares himself to be, when he puts himself under the name of Hermotimus the Stoic in the Dialogue called the "Dialogue of the Sects."

Dryden next undertakes the defense of Lucian on the other side of his weakness, his morals. He censures the *Amores* and the *Dialogues of the Hetaerae* which he would also condemn as not genuine. Lucian has, he says, been mainly concerned to lash vice and folly. The pictures of Nigrinus and Demonax are as fair as virtue itself and may, he thinks, be put over against Alexander the false Prophet and Peregrinus the Apostate.

He next praises D'Ablancourt, whom all the translators ought to have praised and rewarded, since they owe him so much, and Mayne, whose work he especially admires. He mentions Erasmus as the best imitator in Latin and Fontenelle in French; he never reads Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead* but with new pleasure. The Rev. Dr. John Eachard has used Lucian's method best in English when he baffled the philosopher of Malmesbury. Hobbes was proof against blunt and heavy weapons, foresaw where the strokes would fall, and leaped aside before they could descend; but he could not avoid "those nimble passes, which were made on him by a wit more active than his own, and which were within his body before he could provide for his defence." This reference Dryden seems also to have borrowed from the despised Spence. Dr. Eachard's "Hobbs' State of Nature considered; in a Dialogue between Philautus and Timothy, 1671," is not, however clever it may be, a very striking Lucianic imitation.

Dryden next takes up the translators of the present volume. The three of them he mentions, Sir Henry Sheers, Charles Blount, and Walter Moyle, were all in some manner closely connected with him. They probably explain his part in the enterprise and his attitude toward Lucian. He thought of the undertaking as an association of scholars and gentlemen of quality. He had performed a similar service in 1693 for Sir Henry Sheers's poor translation of Polybius, and to this he refers with pride. There can be no

doubt about the nobility of Dryden's conceptions and about his enthusiasm for a sound, if modified, classical scholarship. The cause of the Lucian revival, if we may judge by the group of translators he mentions and their friends, was interest in Lucian as a satirist and as a possible deist.

III. TRANSLATORS OF THE DRYDEN LUCIAN

The book with which we are concerned is:

The Works of Lucian, Translated from the Greek, by several Hands, with a Life of Lucian, a Discourse on his Writings, and a character of some of the present Translators. Written by John Dryden, Esq. London. Printed for Sam Briscoe, and sold by J. Woodward in Scalding-Alley against Stocks-Market, and J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall. 1711.

Vol. II. The same, substituting "St. Christopher's Church-Yard, near the Royal Exchange" for Woodward's shop and giving the date as 1710.

Vol. III. Same as Volume I, omitting all after "Stocks-Market," 1711.

Vol. IV. Substitutes "Printed and sold by James Woodward in Scalding-Alley, near the Poultry," 1711.

The earlier date of the second volume arose probably because the work was laid out in assignments, and the second volume was ready before the first. Woodward was located in St. Christopher's churchyard before he moved to Scalding-Alley. There is a break in the pagination of the second volume which skips from page 188 to page 359. The pagination of Volume I stops with page 347, and it may be that the second volume, which was probably begun first, was filled out with matter in excess from the first volume. A second break in Volume IV, where the pagination drops back from 238 to 141, is less easily explained.

The customary order of the works of Lucian is, after the first two, completely changed, as if the task had been assigned by the choice of the translators and set up as it came in. An unsigned preface to the second volume, which shows some learning in dealing in a quite general way with translation, ends with this statement: "I must advertise the Reader that the Life of Lucian was Writ by

Mr. Dryden near fifteen years ago, for so long has the book been doing; and if any one doubt the Truth, he may View the Copy at the Publishers." This is the basis of Malone's statement that Dryden's *Life of Lucian* was written in 1696.

The translation is far more faithful than that of Spence. Fielding¹ speaks of the translation as a wretched and spiritless performance, as it in large part is; but it seems at least not to have been derived directly from the French. Some pieces show evidence of following Benedict's Latin version which had been reissued by Graevius in 1687.

The following is an analysis of the contents of this edition with information as to the translators:²

T. Ferne, M.D.: *Vision of Lucian's Life, Defence against one who called him Prometheus.*

This translator published *A Perfect Cure for the King's Evil*, in 1705.

Walter Moyle, Esq.: *Of Sacrifices, Herodotus or Aetion, Conference with Hesiod, Panegyrick upon Demosthenes.*

Walter Moyle (1672-1721) is one of the three translators of whom Dryden gives a character, and he and Sir Henry Sheers are mentioned as friends of Dryden by Malone and by Sir Walter Scott.³ He was complimented by Dryden in *Parallel of Poetry and Painting*⁴ as "a most ingenious young gentleman, conversant in all the studies of humanity much above his years," who had furnished Dryden with all the particular passages in Aristotle and Horace which explain the art of poetry by that of painting. He is also mentioned in *Discourse on Epic Poetry*. He was an Exeter College man, and something of a wit; a member of the Middle Temple who frequented Maynwarling's and the Grecian; later, he resorted to Covent Garden and Will's, where he would have been in companionship with Dryden. The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives 1693 as the year in which he translated four pieces from Lucian. His interest in art

¹ *Amelia*, Book VII, chap. v.

² They are given in the order of their appearance in the book. Tom Brown, Dr. Drake, and Captain Ayloffe appear, each with two groups of translations in two different volumes.

³ Malone, I, 252-54; III, 382-83; Scott and Saintsbury, I, 312-13; XVIII, 79.

⁴ Scott and Saintsbury, XVII, 315.

would account for his choice of the works translated. His works were published in 1726, under the editorship of Thomas Sergeant; and the *Whole Works of Walter Moyle, with Account of the Life by Anthony Hammond* were printed for Sam Briscoe in 1727. They include a translation by Dr. Drake of "the dialogue called *Philopatri* between a Christian and a Heathen with ridicule of the true faith" as well as a treatise on *Philopatri* by Moyle.¹ Moyle's interest in the question of Lucian's references to Christianity is obvious. His notes on Lucian were long in use. They appear in Lardner's *Collection of Ancient Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion*; also in Kilvert's *Selections from the Letters of Warburton*. The very sensible remarks based on an intelligent understanding of Lucian's relation to Christianity made by Dryden are probably to be attributed to his intimacy with Moyle. The gist of Dryden's Defense is that Lucian was not Christian or an apostate, that Christianity probably appeared to him in a base form, and that he is after all not satirizing Christianity as such, but humbuggery and fanaticism. It is also possible, as Dryden, or Moyle, and Mayne saw, to derive favorable testimony from the words of your enemies.

Sir Henry Sheers: *The Cobbler and his Cock, The Parasite*.

Dryden in his character of Sir Henry Sheers, or Shere (d. 1710), in his *Life of Lucian* refers to him as among "the finer spirits of the age." The *Polybius* was printed in February, 1693, for Sam Briscoe in Russel Street, in Covent Garden. He was also the printer who undertook the enterprise of publishing the works of Lucian, and we have here a direct connection between Dryden, Sir Henry, and the printer, Sam Briscoe. The third volume of the *Polybius* was not issued until 1698.²

Andrew Baden, M.D.: *The Ass, The Ship*.³

Charles Blount, Esq.: *Alexander, Mourning for the Dead, The Council of the Gods, Jupiter Tragoedus, The Syrian Goddess, Philopseudes*.

¹ *Philopatri* was long attributed to Lucian and was a chief cause of the religious taboo under which he rested. It is, however, dated by contemporaneous allusions in the tenth century in the reign of Nikephoros Phokas. See Krumbacher, *Byz. Literaturgesch.*, 459 ff.; and Christ, *Griech. Lit.-Gesch.* (3d ed.), 747, with references in note to Niebuhr, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 74; Rohde, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, V, 1 ff.

² *Term Cat.*, III, 53.

³ *Term Cat.*, III, 138.

This is no other than the famous Charles Blount (1654-93) who assisted, intentionally or otherwise, in the undoing of Edmund Mohun, the licenser, and in the destruction of the powers of his office. Macaulay's graphic account is found in the nineteenth chapter of the *History of England*. Dryden praises Charles Blount for his wit; he might have alluded to him in a more personal way, for Blount was an early defender and follower of Dryden's, having published, in 1673, *Mr. Dryden Vindicated in Reply to the Friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden, With Reflections on the Rota, in answer to Rich. Leigh's attack*. Blount committed suicide in 1693 because of circumstances in his private life, and his *Miscellaneous Works* were published with a preface by Charles Gildon in 1695. Gildon had also written a preface to Blount's *Oracles of Reason* in 1693. Blount was known as the author of a deistical book, *Anima Mundi*, London, 1679, and of many deistical writings, and it may be that Dryden says so little about him for fear of the odium with which he was surrounded.

It is easy to see from the works translated what Blount's interest in Lucian had been. He does not translate the famous *Peregrinus* with its uncomplimentary allusions to Christianity, but *The Council of the Gods*, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, and *The Syrian Goddess*, in which the rational point of view of Lucian is apparent. Even if they be not directed against Christianity, they are so thoroughgoing in their atheism as applied to the ancient gods that it is an easy reflection that with such a man no gods are safe.

Mr. Thomas Brown: *Icaromenippus*, *The Saturnalia*, *Chronosolon*, *The Eunuch or Pampilus*, *Timon*, *Of those that for hope of Preferment live in great Men's Houses*, *Apology for those that serve for the sake of a Pension*, *Second apology for mistaking χαίρε and ὕλας*, *The True History*, *The Lapithae*, *Prometheus or Caucasus*, *Pseudologista*, *The Dialogues of the Courtesans*.

Tom Brown (1663-1704) is the most important translator in this book; so much so that the writer in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* says he bore the brunt of the work. This is hardly true, but he did do a large part of it. More than that, if the supposition be correct that the work was laid out among translators at the start, Brown must have been in it from the beginning. Although he died

seven years before the translation appeared, he has a part in more than one volume. And yet Dryden does not refer to him. Mr. Charles Whibley¹ says that Dryden could not with honor mention Tom Brown. This I think is true; but I am disposed to doubt whether Dryden knew that Brown was to be engaged upon the work. Mr. Whibley perhaps misunderstands the terms on which the translation was made. He says that the work was done according to Dryden's principles of translation, which is partly true, and that it was done under Dryden's eye, which can hardly have been the case. Dryden did not "marshal them for the fray." It was the bookseller who performed this function. Dryden writes as if he did not know who the translators were, and part of what he said is scarcely applicable to Tom Brown in any circumstances. Tom Brown, "of facetious memory,"² is said by his anonymous biographer to have had "less the spirit of a gentleman than the rest of the wits, and more of a scholar." He was a man of notoriously licentious life, and, more than that, he was, with characteristic, untiring pertinacity, the great tormentor of Dryden. He made capital out of things which were long over and done with. Malone attributes to him even the burlesque account of Dryden's funeral.³ He began in 1687 with *Supplementary reflections on the Hind and the Panther*. In 1688, under the pseudonym "Dudley Tomkinson," he issued *The Reasons of Mr. Bays changing his Religion, considered in a Dialogue between Crites, Eugenius, and Mr. Bays*; in 1690, *The Reasons of the new Convert's taking the Oaths*; in 1691, on the same theme, *The reason of Mr. Hains the Player's Conversion and Reconversion*. It is doubtful if Dryden would have had anything to do with a work in which Brown was to have a share, much less having it done under his eye. What Dryden says is this: "As for the translators, all of them, that I know, are men of established reputation, both for wit and learning, at least sufficiently known to be among the finer spirits of the age." This may be a guarded way of disclaiming the acquaintance of Brown, but such is not the obvious interpretation. Again (after speaking of Sheers, Moyle, and Blount): "There are

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX, 297-98.

² Addison, *Spectator*, No. 567.

³ Scott and Saintsbury, I, 370.

some other persons concerned in this work, whose names deserve a place among the foremost, but that they have not thought fit to be known, either out of a bashful diffidence of their own performance, or out of apprehension of the censure of an ill-natured and ill-judging age." Later he refers to "the modesty or caution of the anonymous translators of the following work. Whatever the motive of concealing their names may be, I shall not determine," etc. This sounds as if Dryden did not expect the names of such persons to be published in the translation, and, in any case, is hardly applicable to Brown.

J. Drake, M.D., F.R.S.: *Charidemus, Philopatris, Illiterate Bookbuyer, The Cynick, Menippus or the Necromancer*.¹

Dr. James Drake (1667-1707) was author of a character of Tom Brown in his works published in 1707, and of several other works.²

S. Cob, M.A.: *Judgment of the Vowels*.

Sylvester Cob (1675-1713) was a clever man, and his translation of this difficult dialogue may be a tribute to his scholarship.³

Mr. Gildon: *Encomium on our Country*.⁴

Charles Gildon (1665-1724), author of many plays, is famous for his quarrel with Pope, or rather for Pope's phrase, "Gildon's venal quill." He was a deist, converted in 1705, who had edited, in 1695, the *Miscellaneous Works* of the deist Charles Blount, and in a preface, signed "Lindamour," had defended the practice of suicide. He was sufficiently notorious and adds another deist to the list of translators.

Mr. Cashen: *Charon*.

Mr. Vernon: *The Images, A Defense of the Images*.

Captain Sprag: *The Stygian Passage or the Tyrant*.

These three writers are not otherwise known.

Mr. Hill: *The Tyrant Killer, Dipsas*.

It is possible that this was Archdeacon Samuel Hill, author of a dialogue in defense of the church and of the church under King William. He was a warrior against Socinianism and produced an early work in Latin.⁵

¹ Vol. IV, pp. 213-33: *Nigrinus by Another Hand* follows *Menippus*.

² *Term Cat.*, III, 543.

³ *Term Cat.*, III, 439, 535.

⁴ Repeated in Vol. IV, p. 67, among the translations of Captain Ayloffe.

⁵ *Term Cat.*, II, 592; III, 566.

S. Atkinson, Esq.: *Harmonides*.

The name is given as Atkins in *Note of Books recently published by Sam Briscoe* in advertising pages used later by Briscoe. Leland, *Deistical Writers*, mentions Mr. Atkinson as author of *Vindication of the Literal Sense of Three Miracles of Christ*.¹

Col. Henry Blount: *Hermotimus*.

Blount is otherwise unknown.²

Captain Ayloffe: *Zeuxis or Antiochus*,³ *Bacchus, The Ridiculous Orator (Rhetorum Praeceptor)*, *How to Write History, The Double Indictment, Of those who have lived to a very great Age, An Encomium on our Country*,⁴ *The Description of a House, The Gallick Hercules, The History of Amber or the Swans, The Amores, The Fugitives, Demonax*.

Captain William Ayloffe appears probably as author in: *The History of Insipides, a lampoon by the Lord Roch——r with his Farewell, 1680. Together with Marvell's Ghost. By Mr. Ayloffe*, London, H. Hills. 1709. The *Term Catalogues* show him author of several works: 1700, *Government of the Passions according to the Rule of Reason* (a title which indicates that we may have to do with another deist); 1703, *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies, Epitomy of the Historians of England*.⁵

John Phillips: *Tragodopodagra*.

John Phillips (1630–1706) may be one of the persons who did not wish his name known for fear of detraction. He is the most famous burlesque writer of the age, beginning his career with *Typhon, or the Gyants War with the Gods, a mock poem in five cantos*. London, 1665. *Tragodopodagra* is done with great spirit in verse, partly in Miltonic bombast like *The Splendid Shilling*, and partly in rhyme.

¹ *Phalaris, I and II*, Vol. II, pp. 507, 524, follow *Harmonides*. They are anonymous and do not agree with Spence, whose translation is reproduced in *Epistles of Phalaris*, by J. S., London, 1699.

² *The King Fisher* by ***, and *In Praise of Flies* by ***, Vol. II, pp. 612, 629, follow *Hermotimus* (the latter separated by several short pieces from the former) and are probably translated by the same person.

³ *Hippias or the Bagnio*, Vol. II, p. 620, is printed between two works by Captain Ayloffe. *Nero or the Cutting of the Isthmus* appears at the end of Vol. II and is attributed to "Mr. ———."

⁴ Translated also by Mr. Gildon.

⁵ *Term Cat.*, III, 175, 347, 399, 618.

Phillips' headnote compares it to *Secchia rapita* and Boileau's *Lutrin*. A note at the end declines to translate Lucian's *Ocypus*, as having been rejected by Erasmus, and the *Epigrams* as of too mean a character to merit the pains.

Laurence Echard, A.B., of Christ College in Cambridge: *The Auction of the Philosophers*.

Laurence Echard (1670?-1730) was author of a very popular work: *The Gazeteer's; or Newman's Interpreter*;¹ also of a *History of England*, 1707-18, and of translations of Plautus and Terence.

Christopher Echard, A.B., of Catherine Hall in Cambridge: *The Fisherman or the Philosophers revived*.

No information has been found with reference to this translator.

Mr. Savage, of the Middle Temple: *Dialogue of the Sea Deities, Of Dancing*.

The *British Museum Catalogue* lists this John Savage separately as translator of Scarron and various other works. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, however, identifies him with John Savage, D.D., author of several popular histories.

John Digby, Esq.: *Dialogues of the Dead*.

This is an important assignment. John Digby was author of translations of *Epicurus' Morals and Isocrates' Advice*, and of a translation of Curtius Rufus' *Wars of Alexander*, 1714. The translation of *Epicurus' Morals* with comments and reflections upon it is taken, preface and all, directly from the French of J. Parrain, Baron des Coutures. In the *Dialogues of the Dead* Digby follows D'Ablancourt very closely.

Hon. Hugh Hare, Esq.: *Saturnalian Epistles, Astrology*.²

Hugh Hare appears as translator of the *Historical Relation of the Conspiracy of John Lewis, Count de Freschi, by Agostino Mascardia*.³

J. Washington, Esq., of the Middle Temple: *Anacharsis, The Disinherited Son* (Washington?).

¹ *Term Cat.*, II, 637; III, 106, 146, 313, 364, 369, 438, 496, 497, 503, 526, 527, 548, 549, 560.

² *The Scythian by another Hand, Jupiter Confuted*, and *The Fugitives* (given also among translations by Captain Ayloffe) follow *Astrology*, Vol. IV, pp. 182-95. The latter two may be by Hare.

³ *Term Cat.*, II, 424.

J. Washington (1668-1707) was author of a well-known *Abridgement of the Statutes of King William and Queen Mary and of King William III.*¹ There is a certain degree of appropriateness to his character as a man of law in the selections translated.

N. Tate, Esq.: *Dialogue of the Gods to Ridicule the Fables about them.*

This is also an important assignment with a Tate-like addition to the title. Dryden would have thought of Nahum Tate (1652-1715) as a person of importance; and Tate might have withheld his name because of unwillingness to be associated in the enterprise, Lucian being in somewhat bad odor. Tate, like most of these men, was a translator from the French.

James Tyrrell, Esq.: *Toxaris.*

James Tyrrell (1642-1718) was a historical writer, a friend of John Locke's and a republican, a pedantic, learned Whig. He published, in 1681, *Patriarcha non Monarcha* on the principles of limited monarchy, a reply to Filmer's *Patriarcha*, and in 1692-1702, *Political Dialogues*, republished as *Bibliotheca Politica*, 1718.

IV. CONCLUSION

Dryden wrote his *Life of Lucian* about 1696; several of the translators were dead by 1704, and the translation must have been completed long before that time. Nevertheless, it did not appear until 1711. Malone (I, 254) calls attention to notices by Motteaux in his *Gentlemen's Journal*, June, 1693, and March, 1694, that the translation was about to appear. Sam Briscoe was probably the printer who undertook the translation and the delay was perhaps due to difficulties into which he fell in his business. He complains in his Epistle Dedicatory to *Familiar and Courtly Letters by M. Voiture*, 1701, that he has labored under afflictions and that his friends have been willing to contribute something toward his assistance. The following passage from John Dunton, *Life and Errors* (1705), page 365, also refers to Briscoe's difficulties:

Reviv'd Briscoe who has printed for Dryden, Wicherley, Congreve. &c. and by contracting a Friendship with Tom Brown, will grow rich as fast as his Author can write (or hear from the DEAD) so 'that Honest Sam does (as

¹ *Term Cat.*, II, 523; III, 137, 392, 400.

'twere) thrive by his Misfortunes, and I hear has the satisfaction and goodness to forgive those Enemies, who are now starving (as a Judgment upon 'em) for attempting his Overthrow.

Briscoe's name disappears from the *Term Catalogues* in 1696. When he reappears as a publisher it is of a considerable number of translations, letters, memoirs, and satires, usually of a courtly, if not licentious, character, and this lower association, rather than the intellectual interests of the earlier time, may have been the occasion of Briscoe's taking from the shelf the translation of Lucian and giving it to the world.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

HORACE SATIRES i. 3. 112-13 AND PLATO
THEAETETUS 172 A, B

BY PAUL SHOREY

It is generally recognized that the description in Horace *Satires* i. 3. 99 ff. of the primitive human horde, *mutum et turpe pecus*, and his account of the origin of civilization are Epicurean, and further illustration of this point would be superfluous. But the more particular sources of Horace's theory of the beginnings of law and justice seem to have been neglected by all the commentators that I have been able to consult.

Iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necesse est, he writes (111). "You must admit that law and justice are mere inventions and that their origin is the fear of injustice." This is the doctrine of the ethical skeptics whose case is restated by Glaucon and Adeimantus in the second book of Plato's *Republic*. Cf., e.g., 360 D, διὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι φόβον. It was adopted in substance by Epicurus who makes justice the creation of the form of social contract glanced at by Glaucon and Adeimantus in their argument. He uses, it is true, the expression τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον, but he uses it, as it were, in quotation marks to explain that in his analysis it is derivative and not, as for Plato and the Stoics, primary. Cf. *Sententia* 31, Usener, p. 78, τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον ἐστὶ σύμβολον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν ἀλλήλους μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.¹ And to preclude all misapprehension he further explains, *Sententia* 34, that injustice is not an evil in itself but only in respect to its consequences. ἡ ἀδικία οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν κακόν, κ.τ.λ. The entire *Republic* of Plato controverts this view. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 1373 b 6 formulates the repudiation of this doctrine by common sense. There exists, he says, by nature a certain common justice and injustice which all men divine even if there be no *κοινωνία* between them nor any *συνθήκη* (compact) either.

The Stoics followed Plato, and Chrysippus (Plutarch *de Stoic. Repug.* 9) said that it is not possible to find any other first principle

¹ Cf. Horace's *utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi*.

or genesis of justice ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως. And Cicero, sometimes speaking for himself, sometimes for the Stoics, repeatedly says, e.g., *de Fin.* ii. 18-19, that *nisi aequitas, fides, iustitia proficiscantur a natura et si omnia haec ad utilitatem referantur virum bonum non posse repperiri*.

Horace as a convinced Epicurean quietly and dogmatically reaffirms the Epicurean opinion.

The protest in Plato's *Laws*, 892, against a purely materialistic conception of nature and the natural anticipates and includes Epicurean utilitarianism and all similar theories. Absolute materialism allows the term "natural" only in application to the movements and qualities of natural bodies. The entire moral order which man discovers or creates in his world is a later non-natural artificial invention.¹ Thus far all is fairly obvious, but Horace goes on to point out a distinction which Plato does not dwell upon in the *Laws* but which he is careful to make elsewhere and which, I think, modern commentators have overlooked.

Philosophies of absolute materialism or unqualified relativity may lay it down that, strictly speaking, nothing is natural but the movements of natural bodies or the immediate animal sensations. But in ordinary speech the utilitarian moralist may concede that the "good" in the sense of the "useful" or the "pleasurable" is an idea given by nature, though the just is not. Nature, and our human nature, does distinguish what we like from what we dislike, and what we like we call "good." In this sense "good" and "bad" are distinguished by nature. What the utilitarian denies is that original nature can also distinguish between the just and the unjust. These are subsidiary artificial conceptions devised to help us get what we like and avoid what we dislike, to secure the good and shun the evil. Cf. Plato *Republic* 359 A, τὸ μὲν ἐκφεύγειν τὸ δὲ αἰρεῖν. This distinction may be Epicurean. Diogenes Laertius (ii. 8. 93) attributes in terms to the Cyrenaics the statement: μηδὲν τι εἶναι φύσει δίκαιον ἢ καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρὸν· ἀλλὰ νόμῳ καὶ ᾗθει.

But by whatever pathway the idea came to Horace it is ultimately derived from the passage of Plato's *Theaetetus* which Professor Wilamowitz has recently misinterpreted in support of his fancy

¹ Cf. my note on the passage in *Classical Philology*, IX, 316.

that the second half of the *Theaetetus* was hastily thrown together by Plato when he received his invitation to visit Sicily a second time. The extreme uncompromising form of Protagorean relativity, Plato has been arguing (pp. 161-71), abolishes all distinctions, is repugnant to common sense, and makes rational discussion impossible. But those who do not carry the theory to these extravagant conclusions might take their stand on a distinction¹ and admit compromises. They, for example, lack the hardihood to affirm that good and evil, utility and inutility, are mere matters of opinion and arbitrary legislation (172 A). But they do maintain that justice and injustice depend solely on positive enactment and are relative to the opinion of the enactors. "And that," says Plato (172 B), "is the way in which those who do not go the whole length of the theory of Protagoras conduct their wisdom."²

The discussion of the "idea of good" in the *Republic* 505 D starts from the same distinction.

This abatement in Plato of extreme Protagorean relativity by the recognition of a distinction between the good or useful which nobody will affirm to be a mere matter of opinion and the just which many maintain is only that, is, then, evidently the ultimate source of the similar distinction in Horace (113-14):

Nec natura potest iusto secernere iniquum,
Dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis.

But, as already said, the Platonic passage has recently acquired another interest through the misinterpretation by which Professor Wilamowitz supports his hypothesis that the *Theaetetus*, hastily patched up from materials on hand while Plato was packing his trunk for Sicily, is as badly composed as the *Iliad*. In his *Platon*, II, 230, he renders the words which I have already interpreted as follows in order to express Plato's intended meaning: "wer sich ihnen nichts ganz verschworen hat hält eben darum von ihrer ganzen Lehre nichts."³ That is, he fails to see that those who μὴ

¹ 171 D, Ἡ καὶ ταύτη ἂν μάλιστα ἴστασθαι τὸν λόγον, κ.τ.λ.

² "Proceed somewhat on this wise in their philosophy" (Campbell).

³ καὶ ὅσοι γε ἂν μὴ παντάπασιν τὸν Πρωταγόρου λόγον λέγουσιν, ὡδὲ πως τὴν σοφίαν ἀγοῦσι. This is Burnet's text. I prefer, as Wilamowitz does, Campbell's ὅσοι γε δὴ and λέγουσιν, but we are not now concerned with text criticism.

παντάπασι τὸν Πρωταγόρου λόγον λέγουσιν are those who accept the compromise or qualification which Plato has just set forth, and that ὧδέ πως, κ.τ.λ. merely repeats that this or something like this is their position. He insists that ὧδέ, κ.τ.λ. must point forward to an intended condemnation of the "ganze Lehre" and takes τὴν σοφίαν ἄγουσιν to mean "judge this wisdom thus." On these blunders he bases the argument that the transition to the next topic is forced and that the famous digression contrasting the philosopher with the lawyer stands in no intelligible relation to what precedes. We expect a condemnation of the doctrine, he says:

Aber Sokrates gibt das Verwerfungsurteil nicht ab, sondern sagt sie denken über diese Weisheit so—das gibt nur eine lange Abschweifung. "Wir haben ja Zeit." Nun denken wir, legt Sokrates los. Statt dessen; "Wieder ist mir klar geworden, dass ein Philosoph vor Gericht sich blamieren muss." Wir sind eben so konsterniert wie Theodorus und sagen πῶς δὴ οὖν λέγεις.¹

All this is *nodus in scirpo*. The course of the thought and the real transition are perfectly clear and simple. This change of front, this position supposed to be taken up by those who don't push the Protagorean doctrine to extremes, raises still another question for discussion. λόγος . . . ἐκ λόγου.² If, which I do not believe either necessary or probable, ὧδέ πως is forward-looking, it looks forward only to the discussion of this question.

"Well," says Theodorus, "we have leisure, have we not?"—and this idea of the contrast between the leisure of philosophy and the petty preoccupations of the lawyer and the politician is what forms the transition to the wonderful portrayal of the two types, which in accordance with the principles of his art Plato aptly introduces to relieve the tedium of uninterrupted dialectics. In 177 C 6 the discussion is picked up at precisely the point at which it is dropped. We are reminded of the exact issue that has been formulated, and the new λόγος is taken up for examination. Apart from the certainty of the meaning of the Greek, nobody who reads the entire

¹ Incidentally I may note that πῶς δὴ οὖν λέγεις, of course, does not express consternation or surprise.

² Cf. Euripides *Troades* 706, ἀλλ' ἐκ λόγου γὰρ ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος, which Professor Murray prettily renders: "Ah, how thought to thought still beckons," but which in view of the context I should be tempted to paraphrase "Life is just one — thing after another."

passage attentively and follows the thought can have any doubt that this is the intended connection of ideas. The matter is now fully explained in the Chicago dissertation of Mrs. Grace Hadley Billings on *The Art of Transition in Plato*, page 24. Professor Wilamowitz' further argument that the digression must have been composed to express Plato's disappointment at the failure of the political ambitions with which he composed the *Republic* shatters on the consideration of its close resemblance to the treatment of the same theme in the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* itself, but I will leave the working out of this comparison and these parallels to the reader.¹

If Professor Wilamowitz would frankly admit that he has misconstrued Plato in his haste and that this passage therefore affords no support to his theory of the composition of the *Theaetetus*, I should be glad to express regret for the harshness of harping on what would then be a mere oversight. But if he insists on his impossible translation, and continues to bolster up his ingenious analyses of the defective composition of the *Iliad* and the Platonic dialogues by what are demonstrably misinterpretations of the text, I shall be driven to aggravate my offense by repeating the words of Professor John Burnet in the *Classical Quarterly* for October, 1920: "Most of his conjectures are wrong and many of them suggest doubts as to his knowledge of Platonic Greek."

¹ Cf., e.g., *Gorgias* 486 B, 526 E, 527 A; *Republic* 517-18.

THE "UNINUNDATED LANDS" IN PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN EGYPT

By W. L. WESTERMANN

PART II

ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT, OWNER, AND TENANT

The *ἄβροχος γῆ* in Egypt was that land which was not reached by the Nile flood, but was actually capable of irrigation by the expenditure of extra labor in running deep field laterals into it. The amount of the *ἄβροχος* in any section varied with the height of the annual inundation. The important fact as to the government's attitude toward this category of grain land is that, in so far as our present testimony goes, the rulers of Egypt demanded and received from the "unflooded" land certainly as high a rate of taxes and rentals as it received from the flooded lands, possibly even a higher rate.

The proof of this statement is to be found in an analysis of P. Brux. I. Previous discussions of this important document have always been conducted upon the assumption that the administrative, or ownership, categories (temple land, royal domain, private land) were the all-important factors. Actually the vital distinctions are the production categories (flooded, unflooded, and dry).

Of P. Brux. I there has been preserved the lower part of eleven columns, about two-thirds of each column being lost.¹ The outer portions of columns I and XI are gone. The tabulation in this record is by "sown land," *σπορίμη γῆ*, and "unflooded land," *ἄβροχος γῆ*. The term "sown land" or "seed land" is here the same as "flooded land," *βεβρεγμένη γῆ*.² The report is drawn up by *σφραγίδες*, or land divisions, of which the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth divisions are sufficiently well preserved to give a thoroughly trustworthy picture. I have analyzed and tabulated below the estimates

¹ *Musée Belge*, VIII (1904), 102; Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, *Chrestomathie*, p. 273.

² Cf. Wessely, *Stud. Pal.*, X, 50, *ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) ἀπὸ σπορᾶς*, and P. Teb. I, 60, 51-4, where the "sown land," *ἐσπαρμένη*, is contrasted with the *ἄσπορος βεβρεγμένη*, the flooded land which was not sown.

of the village scribe for the flooded and unflooded land as contained in the document, separating the privately owned lands, which pay a land tax, from the royal domain, which pays rent in kind to the government. Accompanying the report upon the eighth and ninth divisions we have a notation made by the inspectors, in a second hand, of the actual amount of unflooded land as determined by the inspection (*ἐπίσκεψις*). These have been included by me in the tabulation below. In the reckoning, the fractions of *arourae* and of the total sums of the grain to be exacted have not been considered.

I. LAND TAX UPON ἰδιωτικὴ γῆ, PRIVATE LAND

7TH DIVISION

	<i>Arourae</i>	Paying	Average per <i>aroura</i>
Flooded land	94	115 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{5} + artabae$
Unflooded land	190	238 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{4} - artabae$

8TH DIVISION

Flooded land	41	61 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{5} artabae$
Unflooded land	140	166 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{5} - artabae$

As revised by the inspection (*ἐπίσκεψις*)

Unflooded land	50 $\frac{1}{4}$	62 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{5} artabae$
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9TH DIVISION

Flooded land	30	37 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{4} - artabae$
Unflooded land	123	208 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{4} artabae$

As revised by the inspection (*ἐπίσκεψις*)

Unflooded land	86	148 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{5} artabae$
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10TH DIVISION

Flooded land	40	50 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{4} artabae$
Unflooded land	163	221 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at $1\frac{1}{5} artabae$

The customary land tax on private lands was one *artaba* to the *aroura* plus certain additions called *προσμετρούμενα* or *προσδιαγραφόμενα*.¹ It is to be observed that these "additions" are, on the average, slightly higher upon the unflooded land in the seventh, ninth, and tenth divisions than upon the flooded. Also it should be noted that

¹ See Rostowzew, article *frumentum*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, VII, 160.

in the two cases where a revision of the estimates was made (eighth and ninth divisions) the result is an increase. In the eighth division this increase is negligible. In the ninth it amounts to 20 per cent, which is by no means negligible.

In the estimates of the eighth division the average of the taxes on the unflooded land is considerably lower than the average upon the flooded. The reason for this I can only surmise. The natural suggestion, that this division must have been peculiarly difficult to irrigate, is belied by the description of the boundaries of the division. A supply ditch (*ὄδραγωγός*) runs along the entire length of its western boundary, a main ditch (*διώρυξ*) along a part of the northern boundary, and another supply ditch forms a part of the southern boundary. Other agencies than the difficulty of artificial irrigation must have weakened the productive character of the soil of the unflooded tracts in this division.

Taking the average of the four divisions together¹ the flooded land pays at 1.285+, the unflooded at 1.355+*artabae* to the *aroura*. The government therefore receives as an average 7 per cent more from the unflooded land in these divisions than from the flooded.

II. RENTS FROM βασιλικὴ γῆ, ROYAL DOMAIN

7TH DIVISION

	<i>Arourae</i>	Paying	Average per <i>aroura</i>
Flooded Land ² . . .	31	139 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at 4½ <i>artabae</i>
Unflooded Land . . .	283	1290 <i>artabae</i> wheat	Pays at 4½+ <i>artabae</i>

8TH DIVISION

(No flooded land)

Unflooded land . . .	280	1319 <i>artabae</i> wheat (plus a little barley)	Pays at 4⅞ <i>artabae</i>
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As revised by the inspection (*ἐπίσκεψις*)

Unflooded land . . .	101	408 <i>artabae</i> wheat (plus a little barley)	Pays at 4 <i>artabae</i>
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¹ The average is taken from the sums given in the estimates before the inspection and the consequent revision. The figures given in the revisions of divisions 8 and 9 would not, however, materially affect the result.

² In the four divisions of this village district upon which the information has been preserved, it is noteworthy that most of the land easily reached by the inundation was held in private ownership.

9TH DIVISION
(No flooded land)

Unflooded land . . .	63	251 <i>artabae</i> wheat (plus 68 <i>artabae</i> barley)	Pays at 4 in wheat (plus 1 in barley)
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As revised by the inspection

Unflooded land . . .	41	166 ¹ <i>artabae</i> wheat (plus 3½ <i>art.</i> barley)	Pays at 4 <i>artabae</i>
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10TH DIVISION
(No flooded land)

Unflooded land . . .	24	120 <i>artabae</i> wheat (plus 11 barley)	Pays at 5 <i>artabae</i> wheat (plus ½— barley)
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According to this estimate flooded land was expected upon the royal domain only in the seventh division. Consequently it is only there that we have the possibility of comparing the rents upon the flooded and the unflooded lands.² The result is the same as that obtained in dealing with the taxes upon the private lands. Again the unflooded pays a slight increase over the flooded land.

This conclusion is entirely supported by B.G.U. I, 84, of 242/43 A.D., found in the Fayum. It is the account of a village scribe, whose name is lost, and reads (ll. 4 ff.):

. . . for the exaction of grain revenues of the exchequer and the patrimonial estates³ through the state peasants for the sixth year of our Lord Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus. The sum total is:

From Pelusium:⁴ Due the exchequer and the patrimonial estates through the state peasants: *Arourae* [5]⁵ 517½ ⅓ ⅛, paying in wheat *artabae* 29,299½ ⅓ ⅛, in barley *artabae* 302½ ⅓ ⅛, in beans 1261½ ⅓ ⅛. Of this

¹ In *Musée Belge*, VIII, 114, a printer's error gives the resolution of ρξζ (p. 108) as 107½.

² The inspection showed flooded fields (βεβρεγμένη) in the eighth and ninth divisions. But as their payments are not noted down by the inspectors we cannot use them.

³ εἰς ἀπαίτησιν σιτακῶν φόρων διοικήσεως καὶ οὐσιακῶν διὰ θε(μοσίων) γεωργῶν.

⁴ Village in the Fayum in the division of Themistus. P. Fay. 89, 4, and P. Teb. II, Appendix II, p. 395.

⁵ I regard the restoration of line 11, γεωργῶν ἑ-ἐφ' ἑ ἡξδ, which is my own, as certain. The substitution of 4 or 6 would in either case give an impossible payment of rentals upon state lands which are inundated. For explanation of the fractions see Wilcken's notes to B.G.U. 84.

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amount the unflooded land (*ἀβροχος*) is *arourae* 4,437 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ paying in wheat *artabae* 24,565 $\frac{1}{4}$, in barley *artabae* 297 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$, in beans. . . . The remainder is *arourae*. . . .

Tabulation of this account, again disregarding the fractions, gives the following result:

RENTS UPON STATE LANDS

	<i>Arourae</i>	Paying	Average per <i>aroura</i>
Total	5,517	29,299 <i>artabae</i> wheat 302 <i>artabae</i> barley 1,261 <i>artabae</i> beans	
Unflooded land	4,437	24,565 <i>artabae</i> wheat 297 <i>artabae</i> barley <i>artabae</i> beans	Pays at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ + (Negligible) (Negligible)

Subtracting the amounts of unflooded from the total we have:

	<i>Arourae</i>	Paying	Average per <i>aroura</i>
Flooded	1,080	4,734 <i>artabae</i> wheat 5 <i>artabae</i> barley	Pays at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ - (Negligible)

Again the result is quite clear. The unflooded land, granting that my restoration of the total *arourae* to 5,517 is correct, here paid a much higher rent than the flooded, in fact a full 25 per cent increase.

In Menches' report of 114/13 B.C. there appears in the list of the lands producing no revenue for the state 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ *arourae* once "unflooded" (*ἀβροχος*),¹ which in the year 114/13 B.C. were classified as *τῶν ἐν ἐπιστάσει*. This phrase, which still lacks a satisfactory explanation,² need not confuse one in regard to this bit of "unflooded" land. The essential fact is that these 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ *arourae* so long as they were still productive in the "unflooded" class, paid rent at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ *artabae* to the *aroura*. A basis of comparison of this rent on unflooded land with the state's income from flooded lands is found in P. Teb. I, 71, where Menches gives the statement of the area of Kerkeosiris for the year 113 B.C. For the "flooded and sown land"³ the area was 1193 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ *arourae*, the rental of which was 4665 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ *artabae*. The average rent per *aroura* on the flooded land was therefore only

¹ P. Teb. I, 72, ll. 427-39.

² See the discussion in P. Teb., Appendix I, pp. 576-80. I have not been able to find its technical meaning in any of the papyri published since those in P. Teb. I.

³ Lines 2-3, *προσάγγελμα τῆς βεβρεγμένης καὶ ἐσπαρμένης*.

$3\frac{1}{6} + artabae$, which is considerably lower than that exacted from the $39\frac{1}{2}$ *arourae* of unflooded land cited above.

The fact about the unflooded land, in so far as our present data go, is that it pays on a different system from the flooded land, and quite as much if not more than the flooded. In other words the Egyptian government was attempting to force production on the unflooded land, to compel the owner or leaseholder to see to it that the extra labor required to irrigate the unflooded land should be undertaken.¹ The whip used to enforce this was a high tax or a high rent upon the unflooded land. It is the principle lying at the base of the single-tax theory. A similar measure, though the circumstances differ somewhat, was proposed by Lord Grey in 1833 at the time of the Emancipation Act of the Jamaica negroes.² The negroes derived their provisions, under the plantation slave system, from their own provision grounds. Foreseeing that they would not work on the plantations for wages, but would work only enough to produce a living from these lands, Lord Grey proposed a tax on the provision grounds. The Jamaica legislature, however, refused to adopt the measure.

The system in Egypt was clearly so devised that there would be no escape from the taxes in kind upon the *ἀβροχος γῆ*. The owner or the lessee declared the amount of land which had been left unflooded by the previous inundation, and was, therefore, "unflooded during the present year."³ Those declarations upon which the date is preserved, fall in Mecheir (P. Oxy. VIII, 1113); Phamenoth (P. Oxy. XII, 1459, 1549); Pharmouthi (P.S.I. III, 161, P. Teb. II, 324); and Epiph (P. Fay. 33), that is, approximately from the beginning of February to the middle of July, which is the period of low Nile just preceding the flood time. The amount of the unflooded thus declared for any given year was used as the basis

¹ Similar in its purpose and character is the insistence that the rent must be exacted upon flooded land which, by neglect of the cultivators, has not been sown. P. Teb. I, 67, l. 71.

² Egerton, Hugh E., *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, London, 1897, p. 330. Lord Grey was the British Colonial Secretary from 1846 to 1852.

³ P. Teb. II, 324; B.G.U., I, 139, *ἀβροχηκίας*; P. Grenf. II, 56, l. 10, *ἀβροχηκέναι*. The translations of the editors in P. Teb. 324 ("as having been unirrigated") and in P. Grenf. II, 56 ("had not been irrigated") are very misleading.

for the inspection of the following year, which took place after the inundation.

This explanation makes it possible to understand more clearly that part of the priestly praises of Ptolemy III in the Canopus inscription which deals with the low Nile and its results.¹ A particular year of low Nile is mentioned. All the people of Egypt were in terror at what had befallen, recalling the disaster which had occurred under certain of the former kings in whose time it had happened that the natives met with low inundations (*ἀβροχίας* here seems to be used in the pregnant sense that they faced wide stretches of uninundated land, *ἀβροχος γῆ*).² But Ptolemy, taking many precautionary measures and remitting not a few of the revenues for the sake of the safety of his subjects, had grain imported into the country at higher prices, from Syria and Phoenicia and Cyprus and other places; and so he saved the inhabitants of Egypt. The benevolence of Ptolemy III lay in the fact that he sacrificed the interests of the treasury by not exacting the customary high taxes or rents on the unflooded lands, which were in that year so great that the peasants looked with terror upon the prospect of being forced to cultivate and pay in kind upon them all. The context³ shows that the *ἀβροχίας* had to do with the grain revenues of the state. It is clear that if the unflooded land had received remission or lowering of taxes in case of low Niles (causing *ἀβροχίας*), the people would not have suffered to the same degree as the treasury did. But the Canopus inscription shows that the *people*, and *not* the state, actually *did* suffer because of the *ἀβροχος γῆ*, due to the taxes and rents upon this type of land.

The edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, the Alexandrian Jew who was prefect of Egypt in 66-69 A.D., contains a section⁴ which throws

¹ Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscr.*, 56, ll. 14-19.

² The demotic translation at this point does not serve to clarify the Greek original. E. Revillout, *Chrestomathie Démotique*, Paris, 1880, p. 133, translates the demotic text as follows: "ils se lamentaient a cause de les choses advenues quand ils se reportaient aux malheurs arrivés (étant) sous les rois qui furent auparavant que il arriva a les hommes qui en Égypte (d') être en disette (??) sous eux." Evidently the demotic text has no word corresponding to *ἀβροχίας* of the Greek text.

³ Especially the *οἷον μεταπεμφόμενοι εἰς τὴν χώραν τιμῶν μειόνων* of ll. 17-18.

⁴ Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones*, 669, par. 12.

some additional light upon the tax collection upon the flooded and unflooded lands. After speaking of the peculations of the *eclogistae* (the assessors) and the *strategi*, the prefect proceeds:

A similar type of falsification is the so-called "collection based on an average,"¹ not based on the current Nile rise but on a comparison of certain former Nile rises. And yet nothing seems more just than the truth. Therefore I bid the people to live confidently and till the soil zealously, knowing that the tax collection will be based upon the truth as to the current Nile rise and the flooded² land, and not upon the false record of those who make entries "based on an average."

Since the tax estimate and the collection upon the flooded land (βεβρεγμένη γῆ), as I have shown above, was regarded as "normal" or "uncontested" (ὁμόλογος), the variability of the taxes as implied in the edict of Julius Alexander must have lain in the amount of the unflooded and the assessment upon it. If my understanding of the unflooded land and its taxes and rents is correct, the injustice worked upon the taxpayer or state lessee by the collection on the basis of an average of several years lay in two facts:

1. The average of the unflooded (ἄβροχος) of any given number of previous years might be more than the actual area of the unflooded land in the current year. The peasant might therefore be forced to pay the higher tax on a part of his land, as unflooded, which was actually flooded and subject only to the normal tax (as being "uncontested," ὁμόλογος).

2. The entries of the tax officials, *eclogistae* and *strategi*, when the estimate and collection were made upon the computation of an average of several years, could not be controlled by the peasant taxpayer or lessee, as they could when the actual amount of the flooded and unflooded land was the basis of calculation. The real amounts of the flooded and unflooded were facts which the peasant knew. Against overexactions and falsified statements he might then make his appeal for redress.

The statement of the astute Jewish prefect shows that the truth as to the amount of the flooded land did not worry the taxpayer or the state lessee. It must therefore be the *untruth* about the

¹ ἡ λεγομένη κατὰ σύνοψιν ἀπαίτησις, l. 55.

² πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς τῆς οὐσῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ τῆς βεβρεγμένης, l. 57.

unflooded land. If the unflooded had received remission of taxes or rents the peasant would have had nothing to worry about. This brings us again to the conviction that the unflooded land is the crux of the Egyptian land-tax problem.

Conclusion.—The irrigation of the unflooded land required a much greater expenditure of labor than that of the flooded. The Egyptian government wished to force production to its limit upon the arable land. The method employed to this end was the exaction of a high tax and high rentals each year from the land which came under the production category of unflooded (*ἄβροχος*).

THE TENANT AND THE UNFLOODED LAND

The mistake which so long persisted as to the remission or lowering of taxes and rents upon the unflooded lands was based primarily upon the annual declarations (*ἀπογραφαί*) of the *ἄβροχος γῆ* by the landowner. The conclusion thus wrongly drawn was strongly supported by false interpretations of two other types of documents, namely, (1) the many private land leases which we have; (2) contracts of Egyptian peasants with the government to lease, at greatly reduced rentals, lands deteriorating in production, until these should again be brought up to a state of high productivity. We have several examples of the latter type of document. They fall in the time of Hadrian when the question of farm abandonment and decreased grain production had become very serious.

The facts in regard to the attitude of the tenant, the actual tiller of the soil, toward the *ἄβροχος γῆ*, as expressed by his demands in the leases which he signed, must be closely considered. This requires a statement of one's attitude upon certain moot points in regard to the incidence of and responsibility for the land tax and land rent in Egypt.

Preisigke,¹ Eger,² and Grenfell and Hunt³ hold to the theory that the responsibility for the land tax fell primarily upon the lessee

¹ Fr. Preisigke in P. Strassb., I, 23, p. 89, and in *Girwesen im griechischen Aegypten*, Strassburg, 1910, p. 78.

² Eger, Otto, *Zum aegyptischen Grundbuchwesen in römischer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 188-89.

³ P. Fay. 33, note to l. 18; P. Oxy. II, 268, note to l. 18. Cf. note to l. 11 of P. Oxy. XII, 1460.

rather than the landowner. Ulrich Wilcken¹ and Otto Waszynski² hold to the view that it was the direct lessee in the case of state land, and the landowner in the case of private land, who was subject to and ultimately responsible for the rent or taxes.

General considerations of taxation methods lead to the assumption that the ultimate tax obligation rested legally upon the landowner, or direct lessee of government land, rather than upon the tenant. It is the general rule in empirical taxation. It is also the fundamental legal theory of Roman land taxation.³

Specifically, for Egyptian land taxation the primary tax obligation of the landowner as against the lessee, or the rental obligation of the direct lessee as against the sublessee, is proven by a number of considerations:

1. In the Ptolemaic land lists kept by Menches, the village scribe of Kerkeosiris, 119–112 B.C., the information booked upon the land register was: the name of the cleruch who held the land as γῆ ἐν ἀφείρει; the amount of the land; the character of the cultivation upon it; and at the end the name of the actual tenant, given in the form γεωργὸς Θεοεὺς, γεωργὸς Χεύρις Χεύριος, etc.;⁴ or, if the cleruch cultivated his own land, as γεωργὸς αὐτός.⁵ The important person to the state was evidently the landowner or direct lessee. If the government had held the tenant responsible the name of the landowner or direct lessee would not have been needed in the record office.

2. In the ἀπογραφαί of unflooded land it is always the *landowner* who makes the declaration, giving the name of the tenants.⁶

3. A series of documents of the year 223–22 B.C.⁷ gives clear proof of the government's view that the responsibility for the rentals upon its lands rested primarily upon the direct lessor. Three

¹ *Papyruskunde*, I, 1, p. 180.

² *Die Bodenpacht*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 115, n. 1, and pp. 116–17.

³ Bernhard Matthias, *Die römische Grundsteuer*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 61, where the ancient sources are available.

⁴ P. Teb. I, 62, ll. 180–236 *et passim*; 63 *passim*.

⁵ P. Teb. I, 62, ll. 195, 199, 203, etc.

⁶ P. Oxy. XII, 1459 and 1549; VIII, 1113, col. 1; B.G.U. I, 198; P. Fay. 33; P. Ham. 11.

⁷ P. Eleph. 15–19. No. 16 is in demotic.

brothers, Pinyris, Berenebthis, and Psentaes the Little, had held a lease upon 30 *arourae* of land upon which they paid rent in money. These three were middlemen, as the land was really cultivated by other peasants.¹ The three brothers, after paying one of the four instalments of the rent, became insolvent.² In their insolvency statement they had ceded the land to one Xenon.³ It was necessary, however, that Xenon acquire the land by the legal method of submitting to the government officials an application for a lease upon the 30 *arourae*. This he did,⁴ offering to make the remaining three payments of the rent, which amounted to 240 drachmas.⁵ This indication that the government held the direct lessee responsible for the rent receives further support from an incident which occurred after the period of the insolvency of the three brothers and before the question of the reassignment of a new lease upon the land had come up. After the insolvency of the three the land continued to be worked by the tenants, i.e., the actual cultivators or sublessees. In order to secure themselves in their occupancy, they submitted an engagement (*ὑπόσταςιν*) to pay the rent, and apparently made the second payment. At least all arrangements were made by the proper officials for the acceptance of the payment into the royal bank at Arsinoe and for its proper posting in the records against the account of these thirty *arourae*.⁶ It was not until a month after the submission and acceptance of this engagement of the tenants that Xenon put in his bid for the lease.⁷ Nevertheless, though the tenants had presumably made the second rent payment, Xenon offers to pay the three remaining instalments, which includes the payment for which the sublessees had obligated themselves. After the insolvency of the three brothers and before the reassignment of the lease, the attitude of the government was that the three tenants were subject to the rental obligation. But they were to be reimbursed for the

¹ P. Eleph. 15, l. 3: οἱ δ' ὑπογεγραμμένοι γεωργοὶ ἐπέδωκαν ἡμῖν ὑπόσταςιν. The names of these peasants were given in an appended document which is lost.

² P. Eleph. 16, ll. 19-27.

³ P. Eleph. 17, ll. 27-41; 16, ll. 8-9.

⁴ P. Eleph. 15. 2.

⁵ P. Eleph. 15, ll. 3-4.

⁶ P. Eleph. 17.

⁷ The *ὑπόσταςιν* of the tenants occurred before Thoth 25. The offer of Xenon (*ὑπόμνημα*) is dated Athyr 2.

rent paid to the state out of the payments which they were to make to the new middleman to be placed above them by the state.

4. In the majority of the extant leases of land the lessee (i.e., the tenant) puts a distinct provision in the lease that all the state taxes are to fall upon the lessor, whether he be landowner or holding from the state.¹ This is in the nature of an insurance by the tenant that the legal responsibility of the lessor shall not be avoided. It is necessitated by the method of the tax collection in kind, namely that the actual cultivator, whether tenant or landowner, usually took the grain to the village threshing floor, bearing the cost of the transportation thither.² There the government exacted its taxes or rents before the crop could be touched or moved by anyone.³ The taxes, or the rents if the land be government land, were taken out before the settlement between landlord and tenant occurred. The tenant was always subject to overexaction, especially if his lessor was, as frequently happened, a minor bureaucrat. It was to avoid these overexactions that the tenants insisted upon the specific clause mentioned above.

In support of his view that the tenant was legally responsible for the taxes Preisigke⁴ argues that that clause in the lease which makes the lessor responsible would not be necessary if the legal obligation rested upon the landowner or direct lessee. His argument is nullified by the fact that in several subleases of state or temple lands the *tenant* takes upon himself contractually the rents due the government. In all of these cases the acceptance by the tenant of this obligation of the direct lessee relieves the tenant of any payment of rent to the lessor.⁵

P. Teb. I, 105, is an example cited in his argument by Preisigke, with a wrong conclusion. It is a lease of 103 B.C. in which a certain Ptolemaeus rents from one Horion some catœcic land which Horion

¹ Waszynski, *Bodenpacht*, p. 117, gives a list of the leases containing this clause. To this list I add the following, without claim that the list is now complete: B.G.U. I, 197; P.S.I. I, 30, 32; P. Ham. 23; P. Lond. II, 168, p. 190; P. Oxy. I, 102; P. Oxy. IV, 729, 810; P. Oxy. VI, 913; P. Oxy. VIII, 1124, 1125; P. Strassb. 76.

² P. Lips. I, 19, ll. 18-24; P. Oxy. VI, 910, ll. 31-32.

³ See Rostowzew in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, III, 204.

⁴ In P. Strassb. 23, p. 89.

⁵ P. Teb. II, 311 and 373; B.G.U. I, 166.

had leased from Maron. Ptolemaeus is therefore a sublessee. He agrees to pay a flat rent of 120 *artabae* of wheat per annum, which is not subject to deduction.¹ The rent is to be paid in the month Payni and is to be delivered to Horion at whatever place in the village of Kerkeosiris Horion may designate, at the expense of the sublessee Ptolemaeus.² If any exaction be made upon Ptolemaeus for the state treasury in behalf of Maron or Horion, or any irregular impost, Ptolemaeus is to deduct from the total rent due to Horion an amount equal to that indicated by his receipts from the government.³ The produce of this allotment is attachable by the state for the state obligations of the direct lessee, Maron, and for those of the first sublessee, Horion. The state's rent, primarily resting upon Maron, will be exacted out of it, on the threshing floor. Ptolemaeus must, therefore, protect himself from any attempt to shift the state dues upon himself. He does it, very thoroughly.

THE ἄβροχος γῆ IN LEASES OF PRIVATE LAND

In a number of leases of private land there is a clause inserted, evidently at the instance of the lessee, in regard to the unflooded land (ἄβροχος γῆ). It is to the effect that "if any of the land shall be unflooded, it will be deducted for the lessee." The instances I have noted are:

P. Oxy. I, 101, 142 A.D. Lease for six years at 5 *artabae* of wheat per *aroura* and twelve drachmas per year. The taxes rest upon the landlord. ἐὰν δέ τις τοῖς ἐξῆς ἔτεσι ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ (ll. 24-26).

P. Oxy. III, 501, 187 A.D. Lease for four years of 2½ *arourae* at a fixed rent per annum of eight *artabae* of wheat and forty drachmas. ἐὰν δέ τις τοῖς ἐξῆς ἔτεσι ἄβροχος παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ. The taxes rest upon the landlords (ll. 27-31).

P. Oxy. VI, 910, 197 A.D. Lease for four years of five *arourae*, to be planted in the first and third years in wheat, paying rent at 6 *artabae* of wheat per *aroura*; in the second and fourth years to be planted in resting crops, paying at 32 drachmas per *aroura*. The taxes rest upon the landlord. ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσιόντος ἔτους, ὃ μὴ εἴη, ἄβροχος γένηται παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ.

¹ P. Teb. I, 105, l. 18.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 39-42.

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 48-49.

The similarity in phraseology in all these documents is notable, implying a constant and customary clause regarding the *ἄβροχος γῆ* in the leases. Equally notable is the direct connection of this clause with that which places the paying of taxes upon the landlord. The tenant gathers the harvest and takes it to the threshing floor. Here the taxes on the land, for which the landowner is responsible, are exacted, that for the *ἄβροχος* as well as that for the *βεβρεγμένη γῆ*. In these leases the tenant has been able to protect himself against the arduous labor necessary to cultivate the *ἄβροχος γῆ*, by a clause which enables him to deduct the tax on the unflooded land out of the rent, when he settles with the landlord for the year.

A different method of reaching the same result is exemplified by P. Strassb. 10, 268 A.D. Lease for one year of 11 *arourae* of land, a part of which is *ἄβροχος*. *The flooded land only is to be sown and the rent is upon it alone*; ll. 9 ff.: *ἀρούρας ἑνδεκα, ἐν αἷς ἄβροχος, εἰς σπορὰν πυροῦ καὶ κατέθουσιν χορτασμάτων κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τὴν λειμνασθεῖσαν γῆν, φόρον ἐκάστης ἀρούρας τῆς ἐν σπόρῳ ἐκ γεωμετρίας φανησομένης*, etc. This method of avoiding the laborious cultivation of the *ἄβροχος* is found also in P. Flor. III, 281, of 517 A.D.

In the Byzantine period the tenant was unable to shift upon the landowner the entire burden of the tax upon the unflooded land. Those private leases, which we have from this period, are of the sixth century. The rent paid upon the unflooded land is either one-half of that paid upon the flooded land,¹ a reduction upon the rent of the flooded portion,² or a fixed rent in money or kind.³

Characteristic of the attitude of the contracting parties in most of these leases is the phrase implying that the "unflooded" condition of the land is highly undesirable. This feeling is usually expressed in the form of a wish that it may not occur, *ἐὰν δέ τις, δ μὴ εἴη*,⁴ *ἄβροχος γένηται*, or in closely similar phraseology. The failure of the inundation to saturate the subsoil and fructify any part of a farm, works harm to both parties, to the tenant by cutting down

¹ P. Grenf. I, 56, ll. 12-33, date 536 A.D.

² P. Grenf. I, 57, ll. 10-11, date 561 A.D.

³ P. Lond. III, 1006, p. 261; P. Flor. III, 286, date 552 A.D. Whether rental upon the *ἄβροχος* is high or low cannot be determined in these cases.

⁴ P. Oxy. VI, 910; P. Grenf. I, 56 and 57; P. Flor. III, 286.

the amount of land in one plot which he may readily cultivate, and hence the amount of his income, even though he arrange matters so as to avoid paying rent upon the *ἄβροχος*. The landlord is harder hit. His rent is decreased—yet he must pay his high tax to the state upon the "unflooded" land.

THE *ἄβροχος* γῆ IN LEASES OF PUBLIC LAND

The extant evidence upon the attitude of the lessee of state land toward the unflooded portions (*ἄβροχος*) of that land is equally decisive. In these leases the direct lessee, the *δημόσιος γεωργός*, is usually also the tenant or actual cultivator, *γεωργός αὐτός*.

The clear examples are:

B.G.U. II, 640. First century. Offer, addressed to the royal scribe, to lease shore land of the state's domain. Amount of rent is lost. If any of the land becomes of the classifications "unflooded" or "waterlogged," a deduction will be made to the lessees from the rent.¹

B.G.U. II, 571.² Script of the second century. Contains in lines 8–11 a summary of a lease of one *aroura* of unproductive "dry" land (*χέρσος*) to a certain Harpocraton at 2 drachmas. The lease contained a supplementary notation that the tax was not to be exacted, and one regarding the deduction of the "unflooded and waterlogged land," *ἄβρόχου καὶ καθυδ(άτου)*.³

B.G.U. III, 831, 201 A.D. Offer to lease eighteen *arourae* of "dry" land belonging to the state. If any part becomes "unflooded" or "waterlogged" the rent will be reduced, lines 14–16: *ἐὰν δέ τις ἄβροχος ἢ καθύδατος γένηται, παραδεχθῆναι μοι τὸ [. . .] ἐκφόριον*.

P. Lond. II, 350, p. 192, 212 A.D. Offer to lease 150 *arourae* of shore land, listed in the production category of "dry" land, at a rent of 2 *artabae* of wheat per *aroura*. If any part becomes "unflooded" or "waterlogged" the rent will be reduced for the lessees.⁴

¹ For the reading of ll. 12–14, *ἐὰν δέ τις ἄβροχος ἢ καθύδατος γένηται παρα[δε]χθῆναι μοι*, see Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Aegypten*, Strassburg, 1913, p. 58.

² Cf. Rostowzew, *Röm. Kolonat*, p. 188.

³ The resolution *καθυδ(άτου)* is to be made instead of the editor's *καθυδ(που?)*.

⁴ P. Lond. II, 350, p. 193, ll. 11–12.

C.P.R. 239, 212 A.D. Offer to lease five *arourae* of shore land belonging to the state, rated in the production category of "dry" land, at two *artabae* of wheat per *aroura*. "If any part of it becomes 'unflooded' or 'waterlogged,' a reduction will be made for us from the rent."¹

These five leases are alike in that they all deal with state land which is rented under the production category of "dry" land. Upon that basis the lessee offers to pay the state a fixed amount. In most of these cases the plots consist of high-lying shore land (*αλγιαλός*), which will be covered by the inundation only in an abnormal year. In that case the land would be *βεβεγγμένη*. A part of it might remain under water and thus be "unproductive," useless even for hay planting. Against this contingency the leaseholder protects himself by the provision that the *καθίδαρτος* portion will be reckoned out of his rent. Also in case this land, ordinarily "dry," should be partially covered by the flood, some part might be rated as *ἄβροχος* at the inspection (*ἐπίσκεψις*). The inspectors would be compelled in that case to report it in as *ἄβροχος*. The rent, under the government's system of forcing production to the limit of the land that is irrigable, would then be estimated, necessarily, upon the regular high basis of the "unflooded" land. The tenant, who is in these cases the direct lessee, at the time of the paying his rent into the state's granary, pays actually the amount fixed in the lease, showing his lease. The state then takes as a loss on its books the difference between the required high charge on the *ἄβροχος* and the actual rent paid by the lessee. The lessee has protected himself against the laborious irrigation of the *ἄβροχος*. The government has preserved intact its principle of the high rating and enforced production upon this category of land.

THE *ἐπηντλημένη γῆ* IN LEASES OF PUBLIC LAND

The *ἐπηντλημένη γῆ* has already been defined as that portion of the *ἄβροχος* which has actually been made highly productive by artificial irrigation, whether by using the chain-bucket system or by ditching into the unflooded part. The government's attitude has been explained as an attempt to enforce production to the limit by high taxation upon the "unflooded" category. Proof of the

¹ Line 11 of this document, *παρὰδεχθήσεται ἡμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐκφορίων*.

official attitude in this matter toward the tenants on the imperial domains is found in an order written in 10 A.D. by an imperial slave named Faustus to the *sitologus* of two villages named Lysimachis.¹ The *sitologus* is urged to see to it, with authorization of the toparch, the village scribe, and the other local officials, that seed is distributed to the state peasants "and to allow no *aroura* to be empty, either unflooded (*ἀβροχος*) or flooded (*ἐμβροχος*)."²

We have seen that the actual farmer, whether he rented from a private landlord or from the state, desired to avoid the necessity of irrigating the "unflooded" land, and shifted the burden of its tax and rent when he could. To the large landowner the occurrence of a low inundation, with the result of large spaces of "unflooded" land, was highly unwelcome. He must pay his tax upon it. Therefore he must irrigate it at the cost of extra labor.

To the government officials the occurrence of a large amount of *ἀβροχος* γῆ must have been equally disagreeable, since it required them to see to it that the landowners or government lessees should press production as far as possible upon this category of land at a high labor cost. It is thus that P. Lips. 105³ is to be explained. It is a letter from some lower official to a superior. The lower official says that his superior would be relieved to hear that of the 1850 *arourae* which the village scribe had declared for inspection as falling in the category of "unflooded and artificially irrigated," up to the 30th only 127 *arourae* had been determined upon as really *ἀβροχος*.

There remains one class of documents to discuss which contains a very special provision as to the "unflooded and artificially irrigated land." This is the group of offers to lease government land according to a special edict of Hadrian, which must have been published at the time of Hadrian's accession.⁴ Hadrian's edict, heralded in

¹ P. Lond. II, 256 E, pp. 95-97.

² *Ibid.* See note to line 6. *ἐμβροχος* cannot have the meaning of *ἐμβροχος*, as the context clearly shows. There is no virtue in throwing seed upon soggy ground.

³ Reprinted by Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Chrestomathie*, No. 237. Lack of understanding of the economic character of the *ἀβροχος* and *ἐμπροχόμενη* γῆ made it impossible for Mitteis (Introd. to P. Lips. 105) to explain the letter clearly.

⁴ For the list of eight of these offers see *Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen* (P. Giss.), I, Leipzig, 1910-12, edited by Kornemann and Paul Meyer, Nos. 4-7. The entire literature will be found in the introduction to Nos. 4-7. A ninth document of the same group has since been published as P. Ryl. 96.

these contracts of lease as an act of benevolence of the emperor, contained the order that the royal domain, public domain, and patrimonial estates of the emperor were to be cultivated "according to actual value" (*κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστης*), i.e., according to the crop actually sown and raised, and not according to the old decree.¹ State lands which had formerly paid in kind as high as five, four, three, or two and a fraction *artabae* per *aroura*,² were now to be rented at a uniform rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *artabae* per *aroura*.

The correct understanding of this important decree has been greatly advanced by Rostowzew's letter of explanation published by Wilcken.³ For our present purpose it is only necessary to explain one clause, which appears in eight of the offers to lease⁴ which have been published. This is the clause in which the lessee stipulates that the "unflooded and a half of the artificially irrigated will be deducted according to the custom."⁵

The conclusion is clear. The lessees of the government land, as in the group of leases just discussed, stipulate that the high rent upon the *ἄβροχος*, which the government technically takes out of the produce after the threshing, will be deducted from the rent. That is, the actual overseers of the tax collection in kind, the village scribes and the guardians of the crops (*γεννηματοφύλακες*),⁶ checked off upon their list at the threshing floor the payment for the "unflooded" land and then checked it back to the lessees. It is a matter of

¹ P. Lips. inv. 266, published by Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V, 245. I am hoping to publish soon the reasons for my belief that the expectation was that these plats which were taxed *κατ' ἀξίαν* were to be used for hay-cropping.

² P. Giss. 4, Introduction, p. 24.

³ *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V, 299.

⁴ In P. Giss. 4, 5, in the three documents under 6, in P. Brem. 34, and P. Ryl. 96. The corresponding part of P. Lips. inv. 266 is lost. The clause does not occur in P. Giss. 7, but evidently did occur in another similar lease, of which the ends of the lines appear. Cf. the photographic reproduction of P. Giss. 7 in *Klio*, VIII, 404-5, where *ἐπηντλημένης* appears in the remnants of another lease, opposite line 16.

⁵ P. Giss. 4, 6, cols. I and II, P. Brem. 34, P. Ryl. 96: *παράδεχομένης ἀβρόχου καὶ ἡμισείας ἐπηντλημένης κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*. In P. Giss. 6, col. III, *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος* is omitted. In P. Giss. 5 the clause reads: *παράδεχομένης ἀβρόχου καὶ ἐπετλημένης κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*, which would lead to the conclusion that the customary payment of half rent upon the "artificially irrigated" was applied here also.

⁶ Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Grundzüge*, I, 1, p. 181.

book-keeping. This is the customary occurrence, *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*, as we have seen in previous discussion of the leases.

The entirely new feature presented by these leases is that of the payment of half the rent upon the "artificially irrigated" land, the *ἐπηνητλημένη γῆ*. It must have been a customary payment, *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*. It is to be recalled that the high tax or rent imposed upon the "unflooded land" by the government had the purpose of forcing production upon the land and that this was burdensome in labor upon the tenant. In this form of lease the government agrees that upon that acreage which the tenant *does* irrigate, ἡ ἐπηνητλημένη γῆ, he receives a deduction of one-half the rent stipulated by the government officials, after the inspection, for his "unflooded land" (*ἄβροχος γῆ*). Just as the rent upon the *ἄβροχος* which he did *not* irrigate was checked back to him *in toto* by the tax collectors, so one-half of the rent upon the land which he *had* artificially irrigated was checked back to him at the threshing floor. By this method he was remunerated for the extra labor which he had expended in irrigating the unflooded land.

Other than these applications to lease government land upon the especial terms offered by Hadrian's decree of 117 A.D. I have found only one clear example of this type of lease, which must have been quite common before the period of Hadrian and after. It is an offer to lease state lands from the municipal account of Her-mopolis,¹ of the period of Gallienus. The prospective lessee says: "If the land becomes unflooded (*ἄβροχος*) from the following year, which I pray may not occur, I will do the necessary artificial irrigation, and I will pay of the above-mentioned rent the half."² This was the type of lease which would be at the same time most fair to the tenant, and most advantageous to the government, as a method of forcing production. I believe, therefore, despite the fact that only one instance of this kind has been preserved, that it was one of the standard forms of lease existing in the Roman period.

Conclusion.—In the legal theory the landowner is responsible for the land tax, the direct lessee for the rent upon state lands.

¹ *Stud. Pal.*, V, 119, col. VII.

² *Ibid.*, II. 21-23: εἰ δὲ ὁ μὴ γένοιτο ἄβροχος γένηται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξῆς ἔτους ἐπανάγκες ἐπαντλήσω καὶ τελῶσω τῶν προκειμένων φόρων τὸ ἥμισυ.

The actual cultivator, whether lessee of land privately owned or holding directly from the government or under sublease of government land, attempted to avoid, by the conditions of his lease, the burden of excessive labor required to make the ἀβροχος (unflooded land) productive of grain. Upon that which he could irrigate artificially, with the labor available to him, the tenant who was lessee of government land was often willing to pay one-half the government's rent demand upon the ἀβροχος γῆ.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

GREEK AND COPTIC SCHOOL TABLETS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BY A. E. R. BOAK

The University of Michigan has recently acquired three ancient school tablets from Egypt. Of these two are Greek and one Coptic. They are all of wood, not waxed but originally coated with a white preparation which fitted them for writing in ink. Tablets of this type have been described by F. G. Kenyon, "Two Greek School Tablets," *J.H.S.*, 1909, pp. 29 ff. The Greek tablets are each pierced with two holes on one of the longer sides, which may indicate that they were at one time attached to other similar wooden leaves to form dyptics. However, since one of the holes is still filled by a fragment of a wooden peg, these apertures may have been used for some other purpose than the passage of leather thongs or wire for binding. Feeling that these tablets may have some points of interest for students of Greek life, I have given herewith a transcription of their contents, with a few notes upon the peculiarities of each.

I

TABLET NO. 1

(recto)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
α	βαβ	[γαγ]	δαδ	ζαζ	θαθ	ιαι	κακ	λαλ
ε	βεβ	γεγ	δεδ	ζεζ	θεθ	iei	kek	lel
η	βηβ	γηγ	δηδ	ζηζ	θηθ	iei	kek	lel
ι	βιβ	γιγ	διδ	ζιζ	θιθ	iei	kek	lel
ο	βοβ	γογ	δοδ	ζοζ	θοθ	ioi	kok	lol
υ	βυβ	γυγ	δυδ	ζυζ	θυθ	ivi	kuk	lul
ω	βωβ	γωγ	δωδ	ζωζ	θωθ	iwi	kωk	λωλ
			δ					

(verso)

1 α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π
 2 ω ψ φ χ υ τ ς ρ π ο + ν μ λ κ ι θ η ζ ε δ . .
 3 α ω β ψ γ χ δ φ ε υ ζ τ η ς θ ρ ι π κ ο λ ξ μ ν

No. 1 is a single board 14 in. long and 4 in. wide, with the writing running parallel to the long sides. The letters are uncials, varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. On the side which I shall for convenience call the recto, there are nine columns of seven lines each. The first column contains the seven vowel signs, α to ω, the α apparently having been written in two forms, only one of which is at all legible. In the remaining columns each of these vowels in succession is written in conjunction with the consonants in their alphabetical order, in such fashion that syllables are formed by placing the same consonant before and after the vowel, e.g., βαβ, βεβ, γαγ, γεγ. The exercise was only continued as far as the letter λ, and it is interesting to note that iota is used as a consonant as well as a vowel, thus giving the curious combination ιι. This exercise is a good illustration of the method of instruction in reading and writing described by Dionysius, in his treatise *On the Arrangement of Words*.¹ A similar exercise on a fragment of parchment has been published by Wessely.² It seems that as each separate vowel or syllable was completed a line was usually drawn beneath it. If these lines had been drawn previously for the pupil's guidance, they would hardly have been at such irregular intervals or have been omitted in columns 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, beneath the last lines. An effort would also have been made to keep the corresponding lines in the several columns upon the same horizontal level. In column 2 the pupil at first omitted the syllable βοβ and had to insert it in small letters between βιβ and βυβ. These peculiarities have been omitted intentionally from the transcription.

The verso of this tablet contains three lines only, which cover approximately the upper third of its surface, and are blurred toward

¹ *De comp. verb.* 25: τὰ γράμματα ὅταν παιδευόμεθα, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκμασθάνομεν, ἔπειτα τοὺς τύπους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, εἰθ' οὕτω τὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν ταύταις πάθη, κτλ. ὅταν δὲ τὴν τοῦτων ἐπιστήμην λάβωμεν, τότε ἀρχόμεθα γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, κατὰ συλλαβὴν, κτλ.

² *Einige Reste griechischer Schulbücher, Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde*, II (1902), p. lv, No. 12.

the right. They form a series of exercises on the alphabet. Line 1 contains the alphabet in the regular order of vowels and consonants from α to π . Line 2 has the letters in retrograde order from ω as far as γ , with a peculiar χ written erroneously for ξ , and ϕ and χ transposed. Line 3 shows an attempt to combine the systems of 1 and 2 by taking the letters of the alphabet in their regular order and placing after each of them the corresponding letter taken from the inverted order. In the combined scheme the letters in regular order occupy the spaces 1, 3, 5, etc.; those in inverted order the spaces 2, 4, 6, etc. As now visible, the letters run from $\alpha \omega$ to $\mu \nu$. Wessely¹ has published examples of the alphabet written in the regular and then in the reverse order, like lines 1 and 2, but I have been unable to find another instance of the combination occurring in line 3.

II

TABLET NO. 2

(recto)

- 1 $\nu \nu$
- 2 $\gamma \epsilon \omega \phi \iota$
- 3 $\varphi \circ \beta \alpha . \beta \mu \omega \nu$
- 4 . . $\nu . \iota \kappa \iota$
- 5 $\pi \mu \nu \eta \varsigma$
- 6 $\epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \mu \alpha \nu$
- 7 $\mu \omega \nu \epsilon . . .$
- 8 . $\pi \circ \lambda$
- 9 . $\iota \kappa \tau \omega$
- 10 $\mu \alpha$
- 11 $\alpha \tau \circ \zeta . \nu$
- 12 $\alpha . \epsilon \nu$
- 13 $\pi \epsilon \iota \nu$
- 14 $\pi \gamma \epsilon \tau \nu \rho \iota$
- 15 μ
- 16 α
- 17 $\pi \epsilon$
- 18 $\sigma \tau \iota$
- 19 $\alpha \rho \omega \nu$
- 20 $\pi \eta \rho \epsilon$

Fig. A

 $\chi \epsilon \iota . \lambda$

Fig. B

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xliv, No. 2, ll. 1, 2.

(verso)

1	2	3	4
<u>α α</u>	<u>ι ι</u>	<u>π π</u>	μ
<u>β β</u>	<u>κ κ</u>	<u>ρ ρ</u>	β
<u>γ γ</u>	<u>λ λ</u>	<u>ρ ρ</u>	γ
<u>δ δ</u>	<u>μ μ</u>	<u>ς (ς)</u>	δ
<u>ε ε</u>			
<u>ς ς</u>	<u>ν ν</u>	<u>τ τ</u>	ε
<u>ζ (ζ)</u>	<u>ξ ξ</u>	<u>υ (υ)</u>	ς
<u>η η</u>		<u>φ φ</u>	ζ
<u>θ θ</u>	<u>ο ο</u>	<u>χ χ</u>	η
		<u>ψ ψ</u>	θ
		<u>ω ω</u>	α . τ α
		τ τ	

This tablet is 15 in. long and 6 in. wide. One corner, the upper right-hand one of the side to be called the recto, is broken off. This break occurred before the tablet was discarded, to judge from the grouping of the writing on the verso. As on No. 1, the letters are large irregular uncials, $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high.

On the recto the writing consists of twenty lines, here paralleling the shorter sides of the tablet. Each line contains a number of isolated letters, not grouped in syllables or words. Apparently we have here the work of a beginner practicing the forms of the letters, a supposition which is substantiated by the crude and irregular penmanship. The lower right half of this surface is filled by two childish figures, probably attempts to depict the teacher or a fellow-pupil.

On the verso, in contrast to the recto, the writing runs parallel to the longer sides of the tablet. Here we have an exercise on the cardinal numerals, as far as 9,000. Those from 1 to 900 (α to τ) are each written twice, with a line drawn beneath each successive pair of numbers. The remainder are not duplicated. As on the recto, the letters are irregular in size and badly formed. This exercise may be compared with another fragment edited by Wessely,¹ which, however, is not nearly so complete.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. lv, No. 12.

III

While Tablets 1 and 2 consist of single pieces of wood, No. 3, the Coptic tablet, was originally made up of three smaller pieces glued together at the long edges. The upper third is broken off, leaving clear traces of the glue. The two remaining pieces form a tablet $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide.

This tablet contains an exercise on vowels and syllables, resembling very closely the Greek exercise on the recto of No. 1. Here the exercise begins on the recto and is finished on the verso. It consists of the seven vowels preceded by the guttural *uy* (*sch*), written at first alone and then followed by each of the consonants in their order. Here, again, iota, as on No. 1, is given a place among the consonants. The exercise was done with considerable care, the letters being neatly formed and averaging not over $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height. The lines parallel the long sides of the tablet, and the columns are marked off at the sides and bottom by uneven lines. This exercise gives a clear picture of the composition of the Coptic alphabet, which is simply the Greek alphabet plus seven demotic signs. It is to be noted that one of these, *ϣ* (*kh*), which should follow *ϝ* (*f*), has been omitted, probably inadvertently.

In addition to the main exercise, there are on the verso eight short columns, which contain further practice in forming syllables and words.

It is rather difficult to assign dates for the writing on the respective tablets, because the letters lack any definite characteristics which might place them in some particular century. However, they certainly belong to a late epoch, the Greek tablets being probably not older than the fourth, and the Coptic not older than the fifth, century.

NOTE:—*The Cornhill Magazine*, 1920, pp. 700 ff., contains an article entitled "On Tour in Eastern Darfur," by Major E. Keith-Roach, the British Inspector of the Eastern Soudan. In describing the native village schools the author refers to the use of wooden writing tablets, which he calls "slates." "The slates," he says, "are flat pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and a third of that across, with a handle at the top. They are prepared for use by washing and rubbing over with a mixture of

powdered white stone and water." The ink "is a mixture of soot, gum, and water, boiled over the fire." "The *fikki* (teacher) makes the pens that are needed from thick grass, on the same principle as a quill pen." The writing material in the native elementary schools of the Soudan today is therefore exactly the same as that employed throughout Egypt under Greek and Roman rule.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

ΠΟΘΗ AND ΠΟΘΟΣ IN *ILIAD* AND *ODYSSEY* ANOTHER CHORIZONTIC FAILURE

In his discussion of these words in *Classical Philology*, XV, 387 ff., Professor Bolling admits only two meanings, a "strong emotion of longing or yearning," and "the want, the need, or the lack" of a thing. But between these two extremes there are, as for other Homeric words, other shades of meaning less strong than the first and stronger than the second. Especially there is the feeling the want of a thing, with no implication of intense regret, but only of dissatisfaction at, or the inconvenience of, finding a thing is not there as it used to be. In English we express this by the verb "to miss," but we appear to have no noun to correspond. Let us call it *x*. I feel quite sure that many will say that this nameless expression is a perfectly good equivalent for ποθή and πόθος in a number of the Homeric passages. But some Homeric students will really be at times, unlike Professor Bolling, at a loss to decide what the exact rendering in English should be.

As an example we may take his first and "typical" quotation, A 240, where Achilles says, ἦ ποτ' Ἀχαιῶν ποθή ζεταί νῆας Ἀχαιῶν. Professor Bolling would translate, "the Achaeans shall yearn strongly for me." That is perhaps correct. Others would say that "shall miss me in the fight" or simply "shall wish me back" is enough, and *they* may be right. I incline to Professor Bolling's interpretation myself, but I do not share his perfect confidence. It is a matter for individual appreciation. But I would add that if, in the seven passages of the *Iliad* which Professor Bolling discusses, ποθή means, necessarily and by itself, "strong longing or yearning," it is strange that in five of them the poet requires to intensify the meaning by adding μεγάλη, μέγα, or λίην. Thus, in his second case, Z 362, Hector, away from the fight, referring to his men still on the field, says of them, οἱ μέγ' ἐμείο ποθὴν ἀπέοντος ἔχουσιν. Where is the strong emotion? If it is present, it is indicated by μέγα, and ποθή is simply *x*. I think it will be allowed that a perfectly good translation is, "who very much, or to a great degree, miss, or have *x* of me." Many, I feel certain, would translate another of the lines, Ξ 368, κείνου δ' οὐ τι λίην ποθή ἴσασται, "we shall not miss him so very much." There is no need to accept Professor Bolling's extreme interpretation.

But his great point is that ποθή, in five passages of the *Odyssey*, means "want, need, lack," and not, as in the *Iliad*, "strong yearning." Take then one of them, θ 414. Euryalus makes atonement for an insult by

giving Odysseus a sword, and it is in the hero's acknowledgment that the line occurs, *μηδέ τί τοι ξίφείος γε ποθή μετόπισθε γένοιτο | τούτου*. Professor Bolling's dictum gives us the rendering, "may you never be without this sword hereafter." But surely to tell a man whose sword you have accepted as a gift, and which you are girding *ἀμφ' ὤμοισι* to show your complete ownership, that you hope he will not hereafter "be minus" that sword, would be as absurd a reply as ever was perpetrated. The translation *must* be, "may you never hereafter miss, or have *x* of, this sword." Professor Bolling has apparently omitted to read the second line beginning with *τούτον*. In β 126 there is the same room for difference of opinion. There Antinous says of Penelope, *μέγα μὲν κλέος αὐτῇ | ποιεῖτ', αὐτὰρ σοί γε ποθὴν πολέος βίότιο*. In place of "want" or "lack" for *ποθή*, why not "regret for," as Butcher and Lang render?

In the other three of the five passages Professor Bolling may be right, but I cannot say the same of all the three others in the *Odyssey* in which *πόθος* is said, like his *ποθή* in the *Iliad*, to express a strong yearning. That may be granted for λ 202 (Odysseus' mother's *πόθος* for her son), but not for ξ 144 (Eumaeus' *πόθος* for Odysseus), or δ 596 (Telemachus' *πόθος* for his home and parents). In these two cases there is not necessarily anything more than desire, and by that word in fact Butcher and Lang translate *πόθος*. Professor Bolling, in short, translates the words just as his theory requires, and ignores possible alternatives. But a discussion of the two words must reckon with these. In some of his passages we may allow he is correct and that there is no alternative, but even then the preponderance in his favor is, if it exists, not great, and he cannot reasonably require the uses in the one poem to be exactly equal in number and effect to those in the other. Certainly there is nothing in the facts to justify the tremendous conclusion which he announces.

But there is more to be said about the seven passages in the *Iliad*. The list is really much less formidable than it appears, for it is the fact, though Professor Bolling does not mention it, that three of them must rank as one. They contain a Homeric formula, and the three of them may be combined thus, | - - - (- - - -). *μεγάλη δὲ ποθή Δαναοῖσι(ν) (Πυλίοισιν) γένηται (τέτυκται, ἐτύχθη)*. An initial molossus or choriambus followed by a pause—sufficient to be indicated in our texts by punctuation—and also by a continuation of the line including *δέ, αὐτάρ, γάρ*, and the like, is very common in Homer, and *δέ* is the particle that is used most frequently. There are fifteen occurrences with *δέ* in A alone. That may be in part the explanation, as both *πόθος* and *ποθή* were at the poet's disposal, of the use of *ποθή* in that formula. *μέγας πόθος* would not be so easy to work in with *δέ* after the first foot and a half; *μεγάλη δὲ ποθή* suits perfectly. And further, it can be understood why the poet preferred *ποθή* to *πόθος*, in two of the remaining four passages of the *Iliad*, in the expression *ποθή ζέται* and *ποθή ἔσσεται*. *πόθος* would have given a sibilant assonance of

a kind which the poet, as it happens, does not like after the third dactyl. (I do not stop to suggest a reason.) There are several forms of sibilant assonance between two consecutive words, and the way of the poet with them is well worth studying in connection with the subject, never yet properly developed, of the pauses in the Homeric hexameter. The particular form we are concerned with is the commonest of all, or the least disliked, because, as the second syllable is long by position and has the ictus, the unpleasantness is not felt so much as in other classes, e.g., those of the types *Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον* or *οὐ σώωσον*. But out of some four hundred and fifty instances in Homer of our particular form there are only, if my counting be correct, thirty-four after the third dactyl. By using *ποθή* the poet avoided the assonance.

For the reasons given I for one decline absolutely to admit that the distinction between the two forms is "clean-cut in the *Odyssey*," or that there is anything in the uses of *πόθος* and *ποθή* to make it impossible that the two poems are the work of one man.

A. SHEWAN

ST. ANDREWS
SCOTLAND

PLATON SYMPOSION 212E

Eine der Stellen, die den Herausgebern Platons besonders grosse Schwierigkeiten bereitet haben, ist *Symp.* 212E. Der trunkene Alcibiades ist zu später Stunde mit vielem Lärm ins Haus des Agathon eingedrungen. Er grüsst die versammelten Zechgenossen und gibt die Absicht seines Kommens kund:

Μεθύοντα ἄνδρα πάνυ σφόδρα δέξεσθε συμπότην ἢ ἀπίωμεν ἀναδήσαντες μόνον Ἀγάθωνα, ἐφ' ᾧ περ ἤλθομεν; ἐγὼ γάρ τοι . . . χθές μὲν οὐχ οἷός τ' ἐγενόμην ἀφικέσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἤκω ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχων τὰς ταινίας, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ καλλίστου κεφαλὴν . . . ἀναδήσω. ἄρα καταγέλασέθε μου ὡς μεθύοντος; ἐγὼ δέ, κἂν ὑμεῖς γελᾶτε, ὅμως εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέγω. ἀλλὰ μοι λέγετε αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς εἰσὶν ἡ μὴ; συμπίεσθε ἢ οὐ;

An der vorläufig freigelassenen, durch . . . bezeichneten Stelle stehen die Worte *ἐὰν εἴπω οὐτωςί*. So sind sie nicht bloss von B und T überliefert, sowie von W, der nur darin abweicht, dass er sie vor *κεφαλὴν* stellt, sondern auch von dem Oxyrhynchus-Papyrus. Stephanus und Ast glaubten sie hinnehmen zu können, doch nur, indem sie sie aus ihrer Stelle nach vorwärts schoben und mit der einschliessenden Frage verbanden [Schanz: *ἐὰν εἴπω οὐτωςί* (vel potius *ἐὰν δὲ εἴπω*) ante ἄρα transposuit Stephanus *ἐὰν εἴπω οὐτωςί* post ἄρα transposuit Ast]. Friedrich A. Wolf hat sie ausgestossen. Ihm folgen Schanz und Burnet. Winckelmann hat aus *ἐὰν εἴπω* ein *ἀναιπὼν* gemacht, und diese Abänderung ist in der Tat bestechend. Hermann hat sie aufgenommen und Wilamowitz (*Platon* II, 360) hält damit die Stelle für geheilt. Doch war sie der heilenden Hand wirklich bedürftig? Ist es unbedingt nötig zu ändern? Riddell in dem "Digest" seiner Apologie-

Ausgabe führt Seite 320 f. unter den Beispielen von *Clauses intermingled by Hyperbaton* auf: ἵνα . . . τὴν τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ καλλίστου κεφαλὴν—ἐὰν εἴπω οὕτως—ἀναδίσσω—ἄρα καταγελάσσειθέ μου ὡς μεθίωντος, und bemerkt dazu folgendes:

Two sentences are here counterchanged. As Alcibiades rehearses the form of words with which he intends to accompany the crowning of Socrates [richtiger wäre, of Agathon] he interrupts himself to justify them, and does his best to carry on the two sentences together. These, if one had been postponed to the other, would have run—"That from my own head to the head of the wisest and handsomest of men I may transfer this garland—well! and if I shall say that—what then? Will you make fun of me?" In trying to carry on both together, he breaks and counterchanges them, distinguishing them doubtless by difference of tone.

Keiner der späteren Herausgeber hat sich dadurch überzeugen lassen. Und doch dürfte Riddell damit das Richtige getroffen haben, dass die fraglichen Worte zur Kennzeichnung der Rede des getrunkenen dienen. Gehen wir dem Text weiter nach. "Auch wenn ihr lacht so weiss ich doch, dass ich die Wahrheit sage." Womit denn? Doch wohl mit einer Aussage, die er gemacht hat. Die Frage, ob er da bleiben dürfe in der Erwartung, dass die Zecherei ihren Fortgang nehme, kann nicht gemeint sein. Die einzige Aussage aber, die Alcibiades gemacht hat und über die man vielleicht lachen mag, ist, der, den er bekränzen werde, sei der schönste und weiseste. Ist es nicht blosser Verliebtheit, die dieses Urteil fällt? Kommt nicht dem, der seinen "Kranz abzunehmen und dem heute von allen Gefeierten aufzusetzen Anstalt macht, selbst der erste Preis, wenn nicht der Weisheit, so doch jedenfalls der Schönheit zu? Nein! Niemand soll sich vermessen, Widerspruch zu erheben, wo Alcibiades als Preisrichter eine Entscheidung trifft, weder jetzt wo er den Agathon vor Augen hat, noch nachher, wo sein Urteil und seine Absicht durch den Anblick des Socrates erschüttert wird. Wenn ich so sage, so gilt's." Er ist gewohnt, in seinem Kreise für alle den Ton anzugeben. Und jetzt vollends, wo der Wein sein Selbstbewusstsein gesteigert hat, fühlt er sich jedem überlegen.

Aber müsste nicht, um diese Auffassung zuzulassen, das Subjekt des Redenden durch Setzung des Pronomens hervorgehoben werden? Nicht notwendig, meine ich. Der Nachdruck braucht nicht auf den Gegensatz der Personen gelegt zu werden. Dieser ist eingeschlossen und wird mit herausgehört, wenn betont wird: "nur zu sprechen brauche ich und mein blosses Wort muss euch genügen." Die Auslassung des verbum finitum, denke man es sich als ἔχα oder als κείσθω, bedarf wohl keiner weiteren Erklärung.

Was sonst conjeziert (z. B. von Bury), scheint mir keine ernstliche Beachtung zu verdienen. Wer meine Auslegung verwirft, wird gewiss am besten sich Winckelmann anschliessen.

C. RITTER

TÜBINGEN

ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ AND ΣΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Convenient summaries of the various explanations of the semantics of *συκοφάντης*, most of them aetiological and overingenious, are available elsewhere;¹ I offer one more suggestion, based more firmly on known Greek usage, as it seems to me. *Σύκινος* frequently has the connotation of worthlessness.² Since this quality cannot inhere in the adjective independently, it must be attributed to the fig tree or some part of it: note that *σύκινος* may mean "of fig wood" (Ar. *Wasps* 897), "of the fig" (Plut. ii. 752 B), or "of the fig tree" (Ar. *Wasps* 145). The wood was certainly worthless³ and there may have been an Athenian equivalent of our "I don't care a fig" (just as we say, "I don't care a cent," though money in the aggregate is the standard of value). From *συκῇ* or *σύκον* (and the morphology of *συκοφάντης* could not finally decide which, since the *o* of *o*-stems became generalized for such compounds irrespective of the stem-vowel of the first member) *συκ-* as it appears in *συκοφάντης* may have gained the meaning "worthless" or "trivial," so that the whole word would denominate a "trifle-revealer." Next, frequent use in the courts would give it a half-technical significance as an epithet for one who brought groundless accusations, and it would run its further course as traced by Lofberg (*op. cit.*). This interpretation does not involve any such ellipsis in the Greek (to be supplied aetiologically) as is involved in such familiar interpretations as "revealer of exporters of contraband figs."

Festus (433 f. ThP) records an account to the effect that, there being a death penalty in Attica for those who broke into gardens and picked figs, those who exacted this extreme penalty *ὁ β παρβολα detrimenta* were called sycophants. A vigorous picture of the "trifle-revealer" and his *σύκινα* denunciations (note the diminutives) is drawn in this familiar passage from the *Acharnians* (519 ff.):

ἐσυκοφάντει Μεγαρέων τὰ χλανίσκια
κεῖ που σίκυν ἴδοιεν ἢ λαγῶδιον
ἢ χοιρίδιον ἢ σκόροdon ἢ χόνδρους ἄλλας,
ταῦτ' ἦν Μεγαρικά κάπερατ' αὐθημερόν.

CLYDE MURLEY

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

¹ Cf. Reinach, *Rev. des Études Grec.*, XIX, 342 ff.; Girard, *ibid.*, XX, 143 ff.; Pauly-W., VI, 2120 f.; Lofberg, *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. vii-viii.

² Cf. Ar. *Pl.* 944 ff., *Lysist.* 110 with scholion; Strattis *Psych.* 4; Theocr. x. 44 f.; Lucian *Adv. Indoct.* 6; Hesychius and Suidas s.v.

³ Cf. Theophr. *περὶ φυτῶν ιστορίας* v. 3. 3, Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 1 with Porphyrio and scholiast thereon; Plato *Hipp. Ma.* 290 D; *Et. Magn.* s.v. *συκοφαντία*.

PARALIPOMENA

The following passage appears to have been omitted from von Arnim's *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, and merits addition on page 32 of the first volume. Alexander Lycopolitanus *De placitis Manichaeorum* 12 (Migne *Patr. Gr.* 18, 428C):

Καλῶς γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κιτιέως εἶρηται λόγον, ὅς τὸ πᾶν ἐκπυρωθήσεται λέγων, Πᾶν τὸ καῖον ἔχον οὐ παύσῃ ἕως ὅλον καύσῃ· καὶ ὁ ἥλιος πῦρ ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ ἔχει οὐ καύσει; ἐξ οὗ συνήγεται, ὡς ᾤετο, τὸ πᾶν ἐκπυρωθήσεσθαι. πρὸς ὃν τις τῶν χαριεστέρων εἰρηκέναι λέγεται· 'Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ τοι χθὲς καὶ πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ πλείονος χρόνου εἶδον καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως ὁρῶ, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πεπονθός. χρῆν δὲ σὺν χρόνῳ κατ' ὀλίγον γενέσθαι τοῦτο, ἵνα καὶ ὅτι ποτὲ ἐκπυρωθήσεται τὸ ὅλον πιστεύσωμεν.

With the last paragraph of No. 1012 (II, 302) should be compared the very similar argument, doubtless from the same source, in Ps.-Clem. *Recogn.* 8.20.

After No. 7 (II, 3) may be added a further bit of scandal about Chrysippus, taken from Fronto, *De feriis Alsiensibus*, page 227, Naber:

Nec Chrysippum tuum praeteribo quem quotidie ferunt madescere solitum.

Jerome's prologue to his translation of Origen's *Homilies on Luke*, page 245, Vall. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 26, 219; *Patr. Gr.* 13, 1799-1800) reads:

Quamobrem petistis ut contemptis istiusmodi nugis saltem triginta et novem Adamantii nostri in Lucam homilias, sicut in Graeco habentur, interpreter; molestam rem et tormento similem, alieno, ut ait Tullius, stomacho et non suo scribere; quam tamen idcirco nunc faciam, quia sublimiora non poscit.

I have been unable to place this quotation anywhere in Cicero's works by the use of the ordinary special lexica, indexes, etc., and Müller does not appear to list it in his fragments of Cicero (Part IV, Vol. III). The expression has a proverbial sound and Cicero has other passages in which *stomachus* occurs in more or less proverbial forms. This one, however, is not found in Otto's *Sprichwörter*.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

BOOK REVIEWS

Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus. By ERNST KORNEMANN.
Leipzig: Teubner, 1921. Pp. iv+107.

This interesting monograph contains in final form the author's argument for his thesis, first stated some years ago (cf. *Klio*, II, 141), that the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, as we have it, is made up of an original portion with successive additions and revisions; that this original portion was written at the time of the building of the Mausoleum; and that, short as it was, it formed an integral part of that monument. The Mausoleum was built in 28 B.C., and therefore the process of enlargement of the record extended over a period of more than forty years.

The book is divided into four sections, in the first of which Kornemann discusses the Mausoleum itself. He regards it as very strange that so young a man as Caesar then was should build such a tomb, and attributes his action to both personal and political motives rather than to either alone, in particular to his desire to glorify the *gens Iulia*, as is shown by the name of the monument, *tumulus Iuliorum*. The description of the structure is good, although the present condition of the building and our meager information make certainty in many details impossible. In opposition to Thiersch, who believes that this monument was directly inspired by the mausoleum that Philopator erected for the body of Alexander and the ashes of the earlier Ptolemies, and to Altmann, who regards it as a development of the old Italian grave in tumulus form, Kornemann maintains that both influences can be traced in the structure, and in this he seems to be justified.

The second section deals with the position of the inscription which, according to the view commonly held, was engraved on bronze tablets set in the wall of the Mausoleum on each side of its entrance. Kornemann, however, insists that it was cut on bronze pillars (*pila*, *στήλη*) which stood free from the building itself in front and on each side of the entrance. Such a position is more in harmony with his theory of a gradual increase in the length and content of the inscription. It must be admitted that this explanation agrees better with the language of the sources which, as a matter of fact, furnish no direct evidence for the current view. To the reviewer Kornemann's argument appears conclusive.

The third chapter, the principal part of the work, contains a critical analysis of the text of the inscription, characterized by great ingenuity and learning, from which are drawn these conclusions: (1) The original portion (*Urmonument*), the real *res gestae* or *index rerum gestarum*, was composed by

Octavian about the end of 29 B.C. and engraved on a pillar in front of the Mausoleum, which was soon completed. This *Urmonument* included chapters i-iv, with the exception of a few later corrections, such as numbers. (2) The largest part of the inscription was written by Augustus not later than 23 B.C., and was then engraved on two stelae. Of this a revision with additions and corrections was made by Augustus in 12-11, to which further additions were made after 5 and after 2 B.C., and again not later than 7 A.D. After this date Augustus himself left the memorial record untouched, and that portion which deals with the events of his last years, and other necessary corrections, were inserted by Tiberius.

The validity of these conclusions depends upon the cogency of the argument in numberless points of detail which cannot be discussed adequately within the limits of this notice. Some part of the treatment is open to controversy, and fact is not always distinguished from hypothesis, but on the whole Kornemann has been successful in proving his case and in establishing beyond reasonable doubt his theory of successive revisions. The usefulness of this section would be vastly greater if the author had taken the trouble to insert a tabular view of the results of his analysis.

Finally, Kornemann's view is that, as a literary form, the *Res Gestae* stands midway between biography and eulogy (*elogium*), differing from the former in being limited in content to what had been done in the service of the state, and from the latter in being written in prose. This new form, which sprang from these two native roots and possessed elements derived from both, exhibits two peculiarities, the use of the first person in the narrative, and the unusual arrangement of the subject-matter, both of which are the result of oriental and Hellenistic influences. In this, too, the reviewer finds himself in agreement with the author.

This monograph is an important and substantial contribution, written in clear and attractive style, and in a critical spirit that is most commendable.

S. B. P.

W. S. Teuffels Geschichte der römischen Literatur. Siebente Auflage, unter Mitarbeit von ERICH KLOSTERMANN, RUDOLF LEONHARD, und PAUL WESSNER, neu bearbeitet von WILHELM KROLL und FRANZ SKUTSCH. Zweiter Band, Die Literatur von 31 vor Chr. bis 96 nach Chr. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1920. Pp. 341. Price, unbound, \$0.70; bound, \$1.05.

The present revision is the second made by Professor Kroll and his colleagues, the first having appeared in 1910. The second volume, the first to be revised, had not been subjected to such a thorough revision as the third (1913) and later the first (1916), which were marked by an increasing independence of the old Teuffel-Schwabe. This difference no longer

exists; the second volume now stands on a par with the other two and a careful examination will justify the claim of the editors that the work has been brought up to date. It is to be hoped that revisions will appear in the future at equally short intervals—the interval between the fifth (1890) and the sixth was too long.

The new volume contains 341 pages—a reduction of seven pages in spite of much new matter. This has been accomplished by adopting a more compact style of typesetting for the notes, by condensing the bibliographical titles, and by omitting some of the older titles, especially those dealing with the syntax of the authors.

In the main the text of the sections has been kept unchanged. The introductory chapter (219, "Allgemeine Charakteristik") contains some additions with new footnotes and the first half of 272 ("Das erste Jahrhundert") has been entirely re-written. With but few exceptions however (e.g., Probus, 300, 301) the changes in the sections dealing with the individual authors are confined to the addition or excision of a line or two here and there, a change in phraseology, an occasional correction, or a more cautious statement.

It is in the notes that the value of the revision becomes evident. While the text in general remains unchanged new matter has been added throughout, except for the less important names. The results of recent investigations have been incorporated and the bibliography revised. This work has been less difficult than in former volumes owing to the falling off of the philological output during the war. As in the previous volumes the influence of rhetoric and the commentaries have received especial attention.

The references to facsimiles, especially Chatelain, might well be increased; in any case the complete reproduction of the Puteanus, containing the third decade of Livy, published by the Bibliothèque Nationale, should be cited (256, 13) as well as the Leyden reproduction of the Vienna codex, containing the first half of the fifth decade (265, 15).

It is unfortunate that some of the works cited are the old editions of the Teuffel-Schwabe revision (1890); e.g., 299, 7 Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des klassischen Altertums* (second edition); Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte* is cited in the fifth edition in 321, 1, but in the eighth in 321, 5; the fifth is cited in 322, 4, and even in a new reference 322, 2; the sixth in 320, 7; p. 10, footnote 35, Boissier, *La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins* is still the edition of 1884.

The following errors occur on the first page of the index: Abronius Silo is listed along with Arbronium Silo; Aemilius remains in the index though he has been removed from the text; so also Aesopus (254, 6), though note six has been cut out; the reference to *ars Vaticana* should be 300, 5 instead of 300, 7b; that to Atrectus should be 219, 26 instead of 219, 23.

The paper is poor.

CHARLES H. BEESON

Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England. By INGRAM BYWATER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919. Pp. 20.

The manuscript of Bywater's inaugural lecture as Regius professor of Greek at Oxford (1893-1908) has recently been found in a collection of his notebooks and is published by the delegates of the Clarendon Press. Beginning with a discreet tribute to the "large-minded sympathies" of his predecessor Jowett, the lecturer outlines the story of the introduction of Greek studies into Oxford and England from Italy at the Renaissance, and then in the course of eight or ten pages reviews the history of the "English school" down to the time when Arnold, Thirlwall, and Grote for better or worse gave a wider and more liberal character to Greek scholarship in England. Since the lecture was written the comprehensive history of Sandys has appeared. But Bywater's pregnant résumé and in particular the precise estimate by an expert and a kindred spirit of the work of Bentley, Porson, and the Porsonians are still worth reading.

PAUL SHOREY

A. Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt: recensuit FRIDERICUS MARX. Leipzig: Teubner, 1915. Pp. cix+484. M. 18.

This is the first volume of the *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, undertaken by the Puschmann Institute of Leipzig. In format and plan it closely resembles the published volumes of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*. A frontispiece reproduces Rembrandt's portrait of Van der Linden, whose edition of Celsus was hitherto by far the best. Full Prolegomena (pp. v-cix) discuss at length the encyclopedic work of Celsus as a whole in its relation to others of similar character, its constituent parts, the manuscripts, earlier editions, the principles of the present edition, the Greek source of Celsus in his *Medicina*, his style, his use of rhythm and clausula, and grammatical points of interest. The body of the volume (pp. 1-484) contains the testimonia, the fragments of the *Agricultura*, the text of the *Medicina*, the fragments of the *Rhetorica*, a conspectus of the contents of the *Medicina*, and indexes giving respectively proper names, Greek words, and Latin words, and matters of importance (far from exhaustion).

It may be said at the start that we now possess an edition of Celsus such as has long been wanted. Having had for years to content myself with the extremely unsatisfactory text of the Teubner edition by Daremberg, it is a great relief to turn to one that can be used with confidence. This is not equivalent to saying that Marx has done all that can be done for his author. Time was when I might have said that of this excellent edition, as I have thought and probably said it of other editions; but I have learned that all men are fallible, and that even the most favorable first impression may prove to be ill founded. The only test of an edition is that given by long use in the course of critical study of the whole field to which it belongs. For such a test of Marx's *Celsus* there has been no time; I have, however,

done the best I could do under the circumstances. I have taken my Daremberg and looked up the numerous passages which puzzled me or where I had reason to question the soundness of the text. In most instances the difficulties had disappeared, or at least there appeared to be offered something that might lead on further study to a satisfactory solution. If others more familiar with Celsus are as well served by the new edition as I have been in the first rapid survey, the editor will have rendered a distinct service.

The only desideratum which seems not to have been fully met is that in regard to the Latin index. The fact that Matthiae prepared a complete index to Van der Linden's text, published in Targa's edition, unsatisfactory and inconvenient as it is, is small comfort; when an edition such as Marx's is issued which offers a greatly improved text and is likely for long to be the standard, it is a pity that it should not be accompanied with a complete index, the value of which to the student cannot be estimated. On the other hand, the generous number of cross-references and parallel texts from other writers, Greek and Latin, added at the foot of the page between the text and the *apparatus criticus*, is a real boon to the serious student, greatly facilitating the use and enhancing the value of the text. I have here noted the omission of a few parallels from Hippocrates, but they are rather trivial as far as my observation goes.

Of the matters considered in the Prolegomena the most interesting to me is the proof (so the editor calls it, and so the critical reader will, I believe, pronounce it) that the *Medicina* of Celsus is a translation of the Greek treatise of T. Aufidius Siculus. The argument is conducted carefully and methodically, and all reasonable doubt of the correctness of the conclusion is removed. On the whole one will be pleased also with the editor's judgment in constituting the text. Here, however, the problems, as in all medical writers, are so complicated by our want of intimate knowledge of the ancient remedies that the judicious student will often be in doubt—more often than even the frankest editor will be likely to admit. Some special points at which I now think I might improve the text I will mention later, if they stand the test of maturer consideration. Meanwhile it is a source of satisfaction that we have a text provided with a record of the manuscript tradition on which one may safely proceed in a critical reading of an author from many points of view worth studying.

W. A. HEIDEL

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. By EDUARD MEYER. Stuttgart, 1919. Pp. 632.

This second edition contains a score of minor corrections of the first edition, which, published in 1918, reached but few of our libraries. The thesis of the book is, as might be inferred from the title, that the form of

government adopted by Augustus—*das Principat*—was a continuation of that of 52 B.C., when Pompey was sole consul, rather than of the monarchy founded by Julius Caesar. However, it would be unfair to imply that Professor Meyer has to any extent pressed his facts into the service of an argument. Indeed the attentive reader will find that the subtitle “*Innere Geschichte Roms von 66 bis 44 v. Chr.*” best describes the contents, that the work is a straightforward narrative of political events, and that the main title may indeed have been an afterthought.

The work has the peculiar qualities that we have learned to expect from the distinguished author's studies of ancient history. It reveals the same remarkable power to grasp and associate an immense number of apparently disjointed facts, and to bring into relationship complex tendencies which ordinary historians pigeonhole as disassociated accidents. The reader feels that a comprehensive memory and constructive intellect have been set at the task, and not a shuffler of index cards. The book again has that architectonic actuality which Meyer's vivid historical imagination can so successfully evoke. Meyer views his characters at work. His data are no longer scraps of quoted phrases; they stand out as significant acts in the complex struggle of men. Thus, for instance, Cicero's *De Republica* (pp. 189 ff.) is interpreted in connection with actual political experience, not merely as a notebook of quotations from Greek philosophers, and the changed policy of the Senate in 52 is explained in the light of Caesar's hard experiences in Gaul (pp. 220 ff.).

Yet the work leaves the reader disappointed. It was perhaps a mistake to obtrude a thesis. Its adoption apparently induced the author to divide the book into two disjointed sections, in the first of which Caesar is thrust too far into the background in order that the attention may dwell on Pompey. Furthermore, the thesis seems not substantiated. One still feels that Augustus reverted empirically to constitutional methods for reasons of caution rather than from a conscious adoption of a clear-cut form evolved by Pompey; that in fact Pompey himself, on Meyer's own demonstration, blundered along without grasping any definite policy.

A second disappointment arises from the fact that the work deals too much with externals. There is little significance for history in the twenty-five pages of narrative which describe (from Cicero's letters) the fussy twaddling of the third-rate politicians that held the stage in 57 B.C. On the other hand there is no attempt to describe the social and economic background of the period, as for instance Greenidge pictured that of the Gracchan era. Nor is there a penetrating diagnosis of the political diseases that had gripped the Roman democracy. The author is perhaps too impatient with democracy to attempt the task, or perhaps too little acquainted with the phenomenon. In his picture of it there is no chiaroscuro. It is all black. The author apparently believes that because Caesar dared override the constitution in his consulship he was also capable of murdering

Vettius in cold blood (p. 87), that because Cicero was weak-kneed at times he also "grafted" in politics (p. 200). And the lack of patient weighing of facts is hardly compensated for by scornful references to "boss rule" in America and quasi-illustrations of Roman politics drawn from the "usurped" autocracy that modern democracies have permitted "Wilson and Lloyd George." One is almost forced at times to the conclusion that the book was meant in part as a counterblast to the approaching revolution of 1918. At any rate, it contains many an impressionistic canvas painted with a liberal use of impulsive subjectivism where the reader would prefer an unimpassioned and analytical study.

Finally the author, long known as a keen critic of sources, has here revealed an unwonted lack of skepticism. Cicero and his fellows knew that, especially before elections, speeches and political pamphlets grew reckless of truth. They knew that they must take them with many grains of salt even as we take pre-election headlines. The Greek writers Appian, Plutarch, and Dio, who lived under the imperial censorship at a time when election excitements no longer distorted men's judgments, were too inexperienced in democratic politics to know how much needed to be discounted in reading the lurid pamphlets of that earlier time. Meyer, who has spent his scholarly life under a kind of Hadrianic régime, has also failed to discount properly. There is apparently nothing in the sources that surpasses his faculty to believe. He does reject at times when authorities contradict each other, but he has not developed a consciousness of where to draw the line in the case of political gossip. Perhaps that was too much to expect in the circumstances.

Despite all this, the book is to be recommended very highly to specialists who will know where the danger lies. At any rate it is a safer and more illuminating history than the corresponding section of Mommsen.

TENNEY FRANK

M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes. Pro Milone, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro, Philippicae I-XIV. Recognovit A. C. CLARK. Editio altera. Oxford University Press.

Few second editions of Latin texts differ so radically from the original edition as does this one. It is an entirely new work and makes the first edition thoroughly obsolete. This is due, not to any fault of the editor's in preparing the first edition, but to his later brilliant work and that of Peterson, his colleague, in editing the Oxford Cicero. This work is one of the most interesting and important chapters in the recent history of our Latin texts.

The first edition belongs to the pre-Cluny period, as it were, the second is post-Cluniac. Peterson discovered a ninth-century Cicero at Holkham, and this proved to be identical with a MS described in an old Cluny catalogue under the number 498. This MS at once took a leading place among

the MSS of Cicero's orations. It also threw light on the relations of the other MSS. It contains two of the speeches, *pro Ligario* and *pro Deiotaro*, printed in the volume under review. The history of another Cluny MS, No. 496, containing a different set of orations, was traced by Clark. In this way several valuable aids in establishing the text were discovered. These are utilized in the second edition for the speech *pro Milone*.

For the *Philippics* the new material available is not so striking, as neither of the Cluny MSS contained these speeches. A study of the MSS of the *Philippics* led Clark to certain conclusions about the pagination of the archetype—always a dangerous subject. The principles first developed by Clark in this study have been elaborated by him in a book, *The Descent of MSS*.

Another aid that Clark has utilized in the new edition is that furnished by Zielinski's investigations of *clausula* rhythm. Influenced by these and by his own conclusions about the relations of the MSS, Clark has become more conservative in his attitude toward supposed interpolations. The last phrase in his Preface makes an excellent addition to the list of critical principles: *omittere facile est, falsa fingere res ardua*. The text itself gives evidence of this change of view. In one section (46) of the *pro Milone* we find three examples: (1) *qui id scire potuerit*, Halm's emendation of the MS readings *quid scire* and *qui scire* (the latter now known to have been in the Cluny MS), whereas in the first edition Clark omitted *id scire*; (2) *omnes scilicet Lanuvini*, formerly omitted by Clark, following Lambinus; (3) *sane*, now restored to the text. In *Phil.* ii. 40, *fecit heredem*, deleted by Madvig, is now restored. Similarly *patres conscripti* in *Phil.* iii. 28, and an entire clause in *pro Milone* 47: *qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audisset, fuisse rediturum*. These are but a few of the changes noted. The apparatus has been greatly altered and enlarged.

B. L. ULLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

